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Inter-generational and inter-ethnic perceptions : A comparative study of South Asian and English adolescents and their parents in Southall

Inter-Generational and Inter-Ethnic Perceptions:

A Comparative Study of South Asian and English Adolescents and Their Parents in Southall

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Memorandum

This thesis is submitted to the University of Bristol in support of an application for admission to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The work reported in this thesis is the result of my own research activities, except where otherwise specified in the text. None of the work has been used previously in a degree thesis submitted to this or any other University.

Signed ...A.K.Brah.....

Dated ...30-7-79.....

Abstract

This thesis,reports research undertaken during 1975 and 1976. The study was conducted partly in schools and partly in the homes of the respondents.

There are two main parts to the study: the first involves a comparison between the Asian and English adolescents' perceptions of self, parents, teachers and ethnically specified categories of adults and peers; and the second is concerned with the adolescents' and their parents' views on marriage, family and selected educational issues. In this way the study aims to study aspects of inter-generational continuity and change on the one hand; and ethnic perceptions, ethnic differences and the implications of the two for ethnic relations, on the other.

Ethnic, social class, and sex differences in attitude and perception are highlighted. The self-images of the Asian and English adolescents are found to be substantially dissimilar, and the two ethnic groups are found to perceive each other as being significantly different.

Considerable similarity, and at the same time important differences in the value-systems of the two ethnic/age categories, are observed. Intra age-group differentiation is also demonstrated. For instance, the views of the 'second generation' Asian adolescents differ significantly from those of the 'teenage-migrants'; similarly, the Asian parents' attitudes are found to range from the 'orthodox' to the 'radical'.

The results are examined in relation to variables both within and outside the age-system. The study points to considerable ethnic polarisation and tension in the area. Overall, a complex interaction between age, sex, ethnicity and social class is demonstrated.

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Introduction

On 23 April 1979, in the same way as on 7 June 1976, Southall became the instant focus of national publicity. In 1976, Southall was the site of spontaneous demonstrations, especially by Asian youth, against the fatal stabbing of a young Asian, Gurdip Singh Chaggar, by a group of white youths. On 23 April 1979, a demonstration had been planned as a protest against the National Front who were scheduled to hold a supposedly public meeting at the local town hall that evening. The protest was planned to take the form of a peaceful sit-in in front of the Town Hall. However, since the area around the Town Hall was cordoned off quite early on in the afternoon by the police, these plans for a peaceful protest never materialized. The protestors making their way towards the Town Hall from different parts of Southall were intercepted half-way by the police. Deprived of the opportunity to assemble in front of the Town Hall, they gathered around the various interception points. While the National Front meeting, attended by about 100 persons, was in progress, Southall witnessed one of the most serious confrontations between the demonstrators and the police, and during the course of the night a young demonstrator died from serious head injuries, said to have been received from a policeman. On 28 April 1979, as had been the case in 1976, thousands participated in a peaceful march through the streets of Southall to pay tribute to the memory of Blair Peach, the young New Zealander killed on the previous Monday.

For a few days on both occasions, Southall was a major political talking point. During such periods, instant analyses abound, but to my knowledge no comparative study of the Asian and English communities, other than the one reported here, has yet been made.

The present study is intended as a modest contribution to a more systematic understanding of their views, belief systems, and behaviour.

Its primary focus is on Asians, especially Asian youth, but, throughout, the Asians' responses are compared with those of their English counterparts. There are two parts to the study. The first, conducted entirely in schools, is concerned with the adolescent sample. The second part, on the other hand, deals with the parental sample and was carried out in their respective homes.

The adolescent perceptions were studied in two stages. The first stage consisted of the administration of a questionnaire to over three hundred 15-16 year old pupils attending the three secondary schools in the area. The first part of the questionnaire aimed to gather biographical information about the sample, whereas the second part consisted of a modified form of a semantic differential. In this particular form of the semantic differential, categories of people to be evaluated appeared on the left hand side of the page and included: the respondent's mother, father, and facets of self; generalized categories of adults and peers from both 'own' and 'other' ethnic group such as 'English men', 'Indian/Pakistani girls', and 'English girls';teachers categorized according to sex, and the headmaster. The respondents were asked to evaluate these categories on a series of statements embodying issues of relevance to the various aspects of relationships between adolescents and adults and to an inter-ethnic context. They were required to assign each category a value on a seven point (1-7) grading scale according to the applicability of the statement. These data were factor analysed, and the factor structures compared for any evidence of ethnic/gender differences.

The adolescents' perceptions of the different categories of people or entities along dimensions identified by the factor analysis were deduced from the medians of factor scores computed for each entity on each factor over the various populations and sub populations of the total sample. It was thus possible to compare the Asian and English adolescents' perceptions

of self, adults, peers, and teachers on the one hand, and to study their views of these entities as members of a particular ethnic group, on the other.

The second stage of work with the adolescents involved personal interviews with a sub-sample drawn from the larger sample. These interviews were designed to obtain the adolescents' perceptions of marriage, family, and the education system, as well as of life in Southall. Similar interviews were also conducted with a number of 15-16 year old Asian boys and girls whose length of stay in Britain at the time of the interview was less than two years. These respondents were attending a centre of further education which is designed to meet the needs of ethnic minority students of 15-18 years of age who upon arrival have insufficient English to benefit from an advanced school or normal college course. These respondents were included in the study in anticipation that a comparison between their responses and those of the in-school sample might throw light on the effect of the length of stay in Britain on the attitudes of young Asians.

When this first phase of the fieldwork was completed, the parents of the boys and girls who were part of the sub-sample, were interviewed about the same issues as those discussed with their children. In other words, data were obtained on matched pairs of parents and their teenage son or daughter.

Thus the design of the study permits an inter-ethnic, inter and intra-generational comparison, as well as a comparison between the 'teenage-migrant' and the 'second generation' young Asians. Questions of similarity as well as heterogeneity and differentiation of values between the age-groups are of central interest to the study. It is hoped that the cross-ethnic comparison will serve to highlight the degree to which age-group differences are the same across the two ethnic groups, and also help identity those which are specific to each. As well as studying continuity and change, the research intends to examine the implications for the link between home and

school of the respondents' views about the educational system. It also hopes to shed some light on the ethnic relations and tensions in the area.

In so far as terminology is concerned, it is apparent that normally the term 'Asian' would be employed to refer to people who originate from countries located in Asia. In Britain, however, the term 'Asian' has become synonymous with people who may trace their origin to the Indian sub-continent. Further confusion is likely to arise when the Chinese populations in Britain (who are also, of course, Asian) get 'noticed' to a greater extent than they are at present. The American social scientists have tended to refer to people from the Indian sub-continent as 'South Asians'. This term would seem to have the merit of being slightly more precise than 'Asian', and hence it is used in the title. Elsewhere, however, and despite its limitations, I have employed the term 'Asian' merely to follow its current usage which, after all, has validity in the present context.

Since there are very few Bangladeshis who have settled in Southall, 'Asian' should be taken to describe persons of Indian and Pakistani origin. Similarly, while there are substantial numbers of white immigrants, especially the Irish, living in Southall very few of them are represented among the respondents in the study; hence all white respondents are referred to as 'English'. It is also worth pointing out that whenever the term 'second generation' is used, it is meant to be an abbreviation for 'second-generation Asians', and not 'second-generation immigrants'. In instances where the point of reference is colour rather than culture or national origin, appropriate colour labels are employed. In these situations, the term 'race' is used in favour of 'ethnic' because the former is associated with connotations which are closer in meaning to the perceptions of the actors party to the social encounter.

The fieldwork for the study was carried out between October 1975 and July 1976. However, since December 1977 I have been working with a community

organization in the area. The data collected earlier, have, therefore been supplemented through on-going, informal 'participant observation' in the locality, although, of course, not in the context of formal research.

Chapter I

Youth in Society: Some Theoretical Considerations

Introduction

Categorization by age is a phenomenon common to all societies but the nature of relationships between age-groups and generations varies from society to society, and from one historical period to another. The dynamics of the relationship may be seen to be governed partly by the economic and the political structures of society, and partly by the prevailing systems of values and 'cultural meanings'. These structures and matrices of meanings provide the social and psychological environment within which the relationship between age-groups and generations is realized.

Study of age-groups, and in particular of youth, as a topic has attracted the attention of the social scientist for a considerable time. The psychologist, the sociologist, the anthropologist, the demographer, and the historian have all dealt with the subject to a varying degree. In this chapter an attempt is made to examine some of the major modes of analysis which have been employed in this field. In particular, the chapter deals with the theoretical orientations which have tended to be adopted by the psychologist and the sociologist. Further, an overall framework within which the findings of the present study may be interpreted, will be outlined.

1.1 The Psychological Perspectives

The concept of adolescence is primarily an American one, although historical evidence suggests that notions of adolescence as a separate stage of development were essentially the creation of the Victorian middle classes (Gillis, 1974). It was little used in English writings before the 1920s. In the early stages, the students of the life cycle were more concerned with the timetable of human development than with the social and historical forces which influenced these processes of development.

Coleman (1974), addressing himself to the extant theories of adolescence points out that they are 'badly in need of reorganisation'. He identifies three predominant themes around which the theoretical formulation can be grouped: the notion of 'storm and stress' stemming from psychodynamic psychology; the stage theory approach to development; and roles in adolescence.

1.1.1 The 'Storm and Stress' Notions of Adolescence

The 'storm and stress' view of adolescence gained currency during the early decades of this century. It found its strongest proponent in the work of G. Stanley Hall, though it was a perspective fully endorsed by many later psychoanalytic writers. Its emergence set in train the development of many of the modern attitudes towards adolescence.

According to this perspective adolescence is viewed primarily as a period full of acute anxiety, of unusual degree of egocentricism, and one of considerable potential conflict with the values of parents and of society at large. This perspective was considerably influenced by the growing knowledge about the physiological changes, as for example the hormonal changes, which are concomitant with the onset of puberty. This influence is strongly apparent in Blos's definition of adolescence as the 'psychological adjustment to the condition of pubescence' (Blos, 1962). He suggests that as a result of the physiological changes, considerable disruption in the adolescent's life is to be expected. Erik Erikson also postulates that adolescence is a period of 'normative crisis' (Erikson, 1968)

For a time, such views of adolescence took on universality as an inevitable stage of individual development. More recently, however, they have been contradicted by a substantial body of opinion cited by J.C. Coleman (e.g. Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Douvan and Gold, 1966; Offer, 1969; Bealer, Willis and Maida, 1969; Bandura, 1972). For instance, Coleman notes that:

> "Bandura believes that when one actually looks at the evidence from ordinary middle class teenagers and their families, it becomes apparent that stability and cooperative, mutually satisfying relationships are much more in evidence than the embattled hostility and disturbance so clearly delineated in the literature." (Coleman, 1974: 15).

Such evidence would seem to indicate that the 'storm and stress' view of adolescence was somewhat exaggerated.

1.1.2 The stage theory approach to development

The stage theory has been supported by a number of established disciplines within psychology. It has found its proponents amongst the psychoanalysts, as for example Freud and Blos, cognitive theorists such as Piaget and Bruner, and social psychologists, such as Erikson.

This approach implies a sequential passage on the part of the individual through a clearly defined stage such that the attainment of one stage is dependent upon the completion of the previous one. The individual merits of these theories notwithstanding, they seem to postulate too constrained a view of human development. They would appear to take inadequate note of the social and economic forces which shape the 'stages', and which render the generalizability of their formulations to different sections of the population rather problematic. J. C. Coleman (1974) has made an important recent contribution to the stage theory of approach. In describing his notion of 'a focal model of adolescence' he notes:

> "The point of view taken in the present study is that adolescence is a single stage, as suggested by Blos and Elkind, but that inherent within that stage are a number of separate patterns. These patterns are distinctive in the descriptive sense but they are extremely flexible, they overlap and at times probably even co-exist in the developmental sense. In searching for an appropriate model of adolescent development it has been clear that the feature needing to take precedence over all others is the fact that at different ages particular sorts of relationship patterns come into focus, in the sense of being most prominent, but that no pattern appears to be specific to one age only. It is for this reason that the term focus has been employed, since it reflects precisely this feature of the situation. Focus means firstly a centre, a pivot, a core, a point upon which attention converges. It also means, however, to make visible, to make clear, to bring into view something that has been present but outside the range of vision. It is in both these senses that a focal model of adolescent development is proposed" (Coleman, J.C. 1974: 151-152).

This orientation takes the stage theory a step further in that it does not imply an invariant sequence in which one stage follows another, the first being a pre-requisite for the next, and so on. This model would seem

to have a degree of fluidity within it.

1.1.3 Roles, self and adolescence

Some writers studying adolescence have tended to utilize the 'sociological' role theory and the related self-theory. These formulations argue that a large segment of a person's life is characterized by role engagements which serve to develop a role repertoire. The role repertoire is seen to constitute a crucial facet of the self. Thus, adolescence is seen as a period characterized by role-transitions which lead to personality change. Elder (1968) has elaborated the theory by distinguishing two types of role change. The first is the intra-role change in which the individual will be exposed to new role demands (e.g. better performance at school may be expected by the teachers), but the role itself remains the same. The second type of role change is that the individual acquires entirely new roles, as for example, during the transition from school to work. The two types of role change may hinder or facilitate each other depending on the role played by the significant others, the relevance of past learning to new roles, and so on. Such perspectives regard role development and self-image as related concepts.

Approaches of this type signal a shift away from the emphasis on biologism towards an attempt to bring into the picture wider societal factors which prescribe norms for the individual and the group to which he/she belongs. They have the merit of recognising that the adolescent issues will vary from society to society. Moreover, they bring the inter-actionist perspective into the picture as one which perceives individuals as 'active agents' constructing their reality in the process of interaction with the physical and social environment (e.g. G.A. Kelly, Herbert Blumer). The sources of motivation, therefore, are seen to be located not only within but also outside the individual. A limitation of this perspective, as of a number of others cited so far, would seem to be that inadequate attention

is paid to the influence of social variables such as class, gender and ethnic background, which tend to structure the way in which adolescence is experienced by members of different sections of society.

1.2 The Sociological Perspectives on Youth

In contrast to the psychological conceptions of adolescence which focus upon the individual adolescent, the sociological approach is concerned primarily with the social and cultural determinants which bear upon, and in a sense create the adolescent condition. During the 60s and early 70s, sociologists became increasingly concerned with notions such as 'youth culture', the 'counter culture', the 'generation gap' and so on. For purposes of clarity, these orientations may be grouped into two categories, namely that which is concerned primarily with 'youth culture' issues, and a second which focuses upon the relationship between age-groups and the role of youth vis a vis social change.

1.2.1 Youth Culture Perspective

This approach to the study of youth has been adopted by those concerned with the 'cultural'aspects of youth. Writers on the subject have attempted to identify those aspects of the life-styles of youth which are distinctive and which serve to differentiate these life-styles from those associated with the parent culture. During the 60s the life-styles were often taken to indicate a collective effort on the part of youth to resist adult intervention (e.g. Coleman, J., 1961). These studies were likely to focus on the distinctive cultural pursuits and link these with the expanding leisure and fashion industries catering specifically for the teenage market (Murdock & McCron, 1976).

From within an overall framework of the concept of 'Youth Culture' was advanced another notion, namely that of the counter-culture (e.g. Sugarman, 1967). This concept referred to an amorphous category of dissenting young people who supposedly deplored the dehumanizing forces of a

technological society and the associated adult standards. A twin notion which gained currency during this period was that of 'alienated youth' (e.g. Keniston, 1968).

An important British contribution to the 'Youth Culture' debate has recently emerged from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University. Hall & Jefferson (1976) argue that the term 'Youth Culture' in the singular form is a misnomer because youth is a heterogenous rather than a homogenous category. They try to locate the 'cultural' aspects of youth within the class structure of British society and conceive of youth sub-cultures as stemming from and reflecting the corresponding 'class cultures' (i.e. working class or middle class cultures). They are critical of the 'youth culture' writings of the 60s and early 70s which tended to treat culture as being 'classless' and which were likely to explicate the emergence of 'youth culture' in terms primarily of post-war 'affluence', a hiatus in social experience precipitated by the war which was seen to be responsible for the juvenile delinquency of the mid-50s, and of 'mass culture'. While not denying the reality of post-war improvements in living standards, these authors argue that the relative positions of the classes have remained virtually unchanged. Therefore, the need to study youth in its class context remains relevant. Moreover, a class-based perspective on youth, they suggest, need not deny the age-specific experience of the young.

The sub-cultural approach has provided some compelling insights, but it is subject to several limitations. For instance, these studies have tended to focus on the deviant rather than the conventional, on working class adolescents rather than on those from intermediate and middle classes, on boys rather than girls, on youth and not at all on the adults (Murdock and McCron, 1976). In addition, these studies have concentrated upon white as compared with ethnic minority youth. They would also seem to have paid

inadequate attention to the evidence which demonstrates that young people in essentially the same class situation might opt for different sub-cultures, or for none at all and instead might elect to avail themselves of the opportunities provided by the official youth agencies and the entertainment industry.

1.2.2 Relationship Between Age-Groups and Generations and the Role of Youth vis a vis Social Change

In his seminal essay of 1927, 'The Problem of Generations', Karl Mannheim addressed himself to the question of how age-groups developed a common consciousness and began to act as a coherent historical force. He distinguished between three aspects of the generation phenomenon, namely (1) a generation location in which people were located merely by accident of birth and biological rhythm (2) the generation as actuality, involving participation in a common destiny by those within a generational location, and (3) the generational unit which participated in this common destiny but responded differently to it. He writes:

> "Whereas mere common 'location' in a generation is of only potential significance, a generation as an actuality is constituted when similarly 'located' contemporaries participate in a common destiny and in the ideas and concepts which are in some way bound up with its unfolding. Within this community of people with a common destiny there can then arise particular generation-units. These are characterized by the fact that they do not merely involve a loose participation by a number of individuals in a pattern of events shared by all alike though interpreted by the different individuals differently, but an identity of responses, a certain affinity in the way in which all move with and are formed by their common experiences.
>
> Thus, within any generation there can exist a number of differentiated, antagonistic generation-units. Together, they constitute an 'actual' generation precisely because they are oriented toward each other, even though only in the sense of fighting one another." (K. Mannheim in P. Kecskemeti (ed.), 1952: 306-307).

In this schema, generational consciousness is seen to originate in the shared attitudes and responses of a 'concrete group'. Once formed, however, "these attitudes and formative tendencies are capable of being detached from the concrete groups of their origin and of exercising an appeal and finding force over a much wider area" (ibid: 307). The

generation-unit itself is not taken to constitute a concrete group; rather it may have at its nucleus a number of individuals bound together by "naturally developed or consciously willed ties" who would together comprise a concrete group from which generational consciousness may arise.

Mannheim's analysis pointed to the necessity of analysing sub-groupings in any given generation, and implicitly cautioned against the utilization of a single generation-unit as a prototype for the whole generation. Although the issue of generational consciousness and its relationship to social change raised by Mannheim was avidly taken up by the sociologists writing in the following decades, his carefully worked out distinctions were often ignored. In the post-war period especially, youth came to be treated more and more as a homogenous category, the inheritor of post war affluence, a generation in conflict with society, and at the vanguard of social change. The latter view reached its zenith with the emergence in the late 1960s of the 'counter culture'. The activities of this section of predominantly middle class youth (the hippies, yippies, the New Left, etc.) were often utilized as a base-line for the construction of a paradigm for the study of youth which postulated that youth was a primary agent of social change during this period. Not all sociologists, however, adopted this perspective. Allen (1968), for example, took issue with Eisenstadt's position that,

> "The crucial importance of age relations in all societies and of age groups in all universalistic societies is clearly seen in the fact that the smooth transmission of social heritage, various attempts at change and various manifestations of discontinuity are largely, even if not wholly, effected through them" (Eisenstadt, 1956: 323).

As a counter-argument she posits:

> "Whilst the relations between those of different ages are of significance in all societies, to elevate these relations to a position in which stability, change, continuity and discontinuity are seen to be articulated through them is questionable for simple, relatively static structures; for complex, rapidly changing structures it is extreme sociological naïveté. Social relationships have to be

> understood as part of a dynamic process, in which social situations are the consequence of structural contradictions operating at different levels and with different intensity. Differentiations such as colour, immigrant and youth involve a consideration of the dialectical inter-relation of economic power and ideological structures" (Allen, 1968: 321).

Hers, however, was a minority voice during this period, although studies of the school system and deviancy also pointed to the inequalities in society which had a differential bearing on different sections of youth.

Another important British contribution to the subject was made by Musgrove (1968). His work, while retaining an orientation closer to many American studies in emphasizing the importance of socially constructed age-divisions as primary structural components, nevertheless took full cognizance of the differentiated nature of youth as a category. He introduced into his work a rather important dimension, namely that of status accorded by society to its youth. He has outlined three modes of analysis of status in this connection:

Segregation (from adult institutions into age-groups) with high status.

Segregation with low status, and

Integration with high status.

'Segregation with high status', as in the case of adolescents in public schools in Britain, he suggests, can be seen to generate social conservatism on their part in that their self-conceptions are bound up with their almost certainly assured privileged positions upon reaching adult status. 'Segregation with low status' is associated with separation from the central concerns of the powerful sections of society in such a way that the life 'trajectory' of this section of youth is radically different from the aforementioned group. The working class youth may be grouped under this label. 'Integration with high status', Musgrove maintains, confers a sense of importance upon youth not from their segregation into age-groups, but from close connection with the lives and affairs of adults. His analysis, therefore, though differing in some crucial respects from that of Allen's,

shares with it a concern with the way in which status and power are differentially distributed in society.

In the main, the empirical studies of the 1960s and 1970s would seem to be characterized by as much contradictory evidence as those of the 'storm and stress' type. For instance, Bengston and Black (1973) note:

> "For example, some feel that there is indeed a great gap between cohorts today that may lead to revolutionary change in the current social fabric (Friedenberg, 1969a, b; Mead, 1970; Reich, 1970; Richman, 1968; Slater, 1970). Others contend that the gap is an illusion, having been overplayed in recent years in a kind of mass media overkill; this position is to some extent supported by growing evidence that the intercohort relationship is characterized by continuities in a variety of behavioral domains (Gamson, Goodman & Gurin, 1967; Thomas, 1971a; Troll, 1970; Westby & Braungart, 1968). A third perspective ("selective continuities and differences") attempts to incorporate the contradictory evidence concerning differences in attitudes and behavioral types between cohorts by positing a continuity in core goals and life orientations ("values"), but differences in such peripheral arenas of behavior as political opinions and sexual attitudes (Keniston, 1968; Thomas, 1971b)" (Bengston & Black, 1973: 215).

These researchers have argued that at least some degree of contradiction in evidence may be due to a failure on the part of researchers to make a conceptual distinction between 'cohort' and 'lineage' relationships within the age-system. They suggest that inter-generational relationships should be viewed from two perspectives of time and social structure: from a macro-level, involving analysis of generations as large based aggregates or cohorts and examining cultural continuity and change within the context of historical time; and from a micro-level, in which generations are represented by lineage members and examining interpersonal interaction within the context of individual developmental time. The lineage relationship is seen as defined not merely biologically but also socially, with socialization functions forming the core of this type of relationship. It may be worth pointing out that the two levels of analysis should not be confused with those of the sociological and the psychological levels of analysis. The macro and micro levels when applied to a study of generations

help clarify the structural relationships between those aggregates which constitute the units of analysis: at the former level the relationship is horizontal involving age-based aggregates, whereas at the latter level it is vertical, involving members of different age-groups linked by blood-ties or other socializing relationships, as, for instance, those in the school. Furthermore, the two levels are not seen as being mutually exclusive, but inter-related.

A further clarification of the problematic of the relations between age-groups has been provided by Marsland (1975). He argues that the term conflict is much too loosely used to explicate relations between age-groups and that in reality whether or not a conflict process develops is likely to be conditioned by many factors outside the age-system of society. Evidence of lack of conflict, he contends, cannot be interpreted as necessarily indicating homogeneity of values, nor should the deviant behaviour among young people be expected necessarily to lead to conflict. He also cautions against the use of the term 'generational' when the unit of analysis might be the age-group rather than the generation:

> "To classify the phenomena under consideration here as 'generational' is to beg questions which only empirical analysis can answer. Some aspects and types of difference and conflict between younger and older people appear to be constant, or certainly common, characteristic of relations between youth and maturity in all types of society and civilization in which these categorizations appear. Other aspects and other types of difference and conflict are apparently specific to particular socio-cultural conditions. It is very important to distinguish these two cases.
>
> At the same time it is essential to distinguish both these cases from a third, and empirically much rarer, case in which the bases of the difference and conflict are carried forward by a youth group into their occupancy of adult status. Only in the third case is the difference and conflict properly a generational phenomenon at all. In the first two cases the parties to the difference and conflict are age-groups rather than generations. To classify an age-group conflict as a generational conflict involves an a priori judgement of issues which ought to be examined empirically" (Marsland, 1975: 96).

In some respects, Marsland's 'generational level' may be seen to be equivalent to the 'cohort level' postulated by Bengston and Black, and

similarly the 'age-group' level of his analysis may be equated to the 'lineage level' proposed by the latter. However, a distinction between these two types of formulations can be maintained if it is recognised that while Bengston and Black are concerned primarily with the level of analysis which prescribes the criteria for the selection of a particular segment of the age-system as a unit of analysis, Marsland's conceptualization of the difference between age-group and generation may be used as a description of the type of change in progress; that is one may speak for instance of a 'generational change' as distinct from difference at the 'age-group' level. In the present study, wherever any part of this terminology is applied., the above distinction is maintained.

Having considered some of the major approaches to the study of youth, I shall now attempt to outline a schema for the interpretation of the results of the present study. The intention is not to develop a neat, tightly bounded framework, but rather to consider how some of the approaches discussed in this chapter may help elucidate areas of concern in this piece of research. In addition, a brief review of research concerned with Asians in Britain will also be made.

1.3 Asian Youth and Parents: Modes of Analysis

Asians in Britain present a complex problem for analysis. This section of the population is differentiated not only according to variables such as ethnic background, class, sex, position within the educational and occupational structures etc., which constitute its social base in Britain, but also in terms of caste, religion, language, regional and rural/urban background factors which locate its position in the country of origin. Responses of Asians to their life chances in Britain are in large part dependent upon these two major facets of their social base and its subjective appraisal by them.

The simultaneous importance of these two facets has not always been

appreciated by the researchers working with Asian communities. In earlier studies, the emphasis was primarily on the former: the social organization and responses of Asians in Britain were explained largely in terms of the importance of the influence of the 'home society' on the immigrants, an influence which was seen to be reflected in the strength of the 'village-network' among Asians settled here (e.g. Desai, 1963; Dhaya, 1974). At the same time, studies of ethnic minorities and 'race relations' tended to stress the second facet of the social base; they were likely to focus on the ways in which social structural features of the British society impinged upon ethnic minorities (see, for instance, Rex and Moore, 1969; Allen, 1971). This is not to detract from the individual merits of these studies or the valuable contribution they made, but rather to point out that they were likely to be asymmetrical in emphasis. More recent studies have attempted to redress the balance. They have tried to place their analysis of social developments among Asian populations in a context which tries to take account of the influence of the social systems existing both in the country of origin as well as here (Saifullah Khan, 1974, 1977, 1979; Ballard and Ballard in Watson (ed.)(1977). However, even these analyses remain somewhat asymmetrical in that they take an inadequate account of the social class variable.

Studies of Asian youth in Britain are as yet few. During 1968, Dilip Hiro spoke to young Asians across the country and provided a perceptive analysis of their situation. He pointed out that the Asian adolescents seemed to be attempting a cultural synthesis; they were neither totally encapsulated in the parental culture, nor completely anglicised. Parents too, he suggested, were changing, and were experimenting with liberalized versions of arranged marriages for their children. He found that contact between Asian and White adolescents was extremely limited; consequently, close friendships between them were few. He documents the respondents'

experiences as receivers of racial abuse in schools and describes the role played by Enoch Powell's 'rivers of blood' speech as well as by the incidents of assaults on Asian people and property (as, for instance, 'Paki-bashing' in East London) in making the Asian populations, especially the younger generation, conscious of their position as a 'coloured' ethnic minority in Britain. Gang fights between white and Asian groups of boys, he reports, were not uncommon during this period. He suggests that this consciousness had the effect of making Asians much more inclined to maintain a separate cultural identity (Hiro, 1971).

At about the same time, J. H. Taylor made a study of Asian boys who reached school leaving age in Newcastle Upon Tyne over the six years 1962-1967. He conducted his interviews during early 1968. His findings point to a considerable difference of opinion among the different religious groups on questions concerning religion. The young Muslims were found to express the strictest allegiance to religion, and Hindus the least. This study reports a higher incidence of friendship between Asians and English boys than any other: 43 per cent of the respondents mentioned at least one English name among their best friends. However, in view of the fact that the study also reports that very few of these friendships were with English boys living in the same locality as the Asian respondents, it may be concluded that these relationships were conducted primarily during school hours and as such were perhaps not as centrally important to the respondents as the term 'best friend' would imply. On marriage, the data suggest that the young Asians were inclined to accept an arranged marriage, although they wished for, and more often than not, were provided with the opportunity to meet the prospective bride before engagement was made official by the family. On educational attainment, he found that although there was only a slight difference between the attainment of Asian and English school leavers, a higher proportion of the Asians stayed on longer in full-time

education, and a higher proportion succeeded in entering higher education. With regard to the respondents' political orientation, Taylor notes that although a majority of his respondents were aware of prejudice and discrimination, they were overwhelmingly in favour of keeping a low profile on political issues: "Quietism and conformity were the rule" (Taylor, 1976: 216). This finding stands in marked contrast to the position Asian young people in Southall tend to adopt nowadays.

Another study conducted around this period comprised an ethnographic account of some Sikh families in Coventry (Thompson, 1970). He documents the strong influence of peer group on adolescent Sikh boys which, in Coventry, provided a full framework of sporting and social activities. On issues such as marriage, his findings are similar to those cited earlier, and he reports that the young boys he came to know during the course of his research retained a 'Sikh identity' and were more anxious to liberalize the traditional culture than to abandon it.

A sample survey of Indian males between the ages of 16 and 24 living in Southall and of similar samples of Pakistanis in Bradford and West Indians in Handsworth showed both similarity and differences in the views of the three ethnic groups (Evans, 1971). The young men appeared optimistic about their chances of moving to a better neighbourhood or obtaining a better job in future; they believed that extra effort which they put in would be well rewarded in Britain. However, their optimism would seem to be misplaced in the light of evidence available even at the time which demonstrated that discrimination in the job market was substantial (Banton, 1972). Considerable agreement among the three ethnic groups was also apparent on the statement 'The young immigrant has more in common with young people of his own age whatever colour they are than he has with any of the older generation'; 68 per cent of the West Indians, 55 per cent of the Pakistani, and 73 per cent of the Indians agreed strongly with the

statement. On certain other questions, however, the three ethnic groups were found to hold rather differing opinions. For instance, when asked whether or not they would vote at the next election, more Asians (92 per cent of the Pakistanis and 89 per cent of the Indians) than West Indians (48 per cent) reported that they would. On the issue of arranged marriage, it was found that 74 per cent of the Pakistanis and 47 per cent of the Indian youths agreed that their family should have the main say in deciding whom they married. Despite the methodological limitations of the survey method, this study as did that of Taylor, highlighted the fact that the different 'coloured' ethnic minorities in Britain could not be expected to hold similar views.

With the exception of Dilip Hiro's survey, these earlier studies tend to reflect either implicitly or explicitly the general preoccupation of the period with notions such as 'assimilation' and 'integration' of the ethnic minorities to the majority society. However, as Banton points out, the old idea of assimilation assumed that the receiving society was an entity composed of cooperating parts:

> "Modern industrial societies contain within themselves many conflicts that often impair the functioning of the whole. Newcomers are caught up in these divisions and conflicts. They acquire employment of a particular kind, housing of a particular kind and may be accorded a place in a local community. They have general rights throughout the country, but may be unable to obtain equal treatment. To understand these patterns it is of no more use considering how well coloured people are integrated into 'British society' than considering how well white people are integrated. The notion is too vague to be meaningful." (Banton, 1972: 52).

The more recent interpretors of Asian youth are less likely to utilize a form of analysis which starts from an 'assimilationist' or 'integrationist' perspective. James (1974), for instance, has written about the Sikhs in Huddersfield. His account is based on his involvement in the community as a teacher and includes discussions of family life, religious observance, the upbringing of children, the socialization of adolescents, and so on.

In his concluding chapter, this author attempts to predict future trends among young Asians. In doing so he refers to the pressures and tensions within the family and the Asian community which affect young Sikhs as well as to those which result from racial prejudice and discrimination:

> "If we have suggested that the difficulties of young Sikhs are all generated within their own community, that they all derive from conservatism and over-anxiety on the part of parents, this is a false impression. The fact of racial hostility is a part of their lives, a permanent backdrop to all the tensions and conflicts that we have examined in more detail" (James, 1974: 100).

He suggests that young Sikhs growing up in Britain "are complex personalities, moulded by a variety of conflicting influences, products of a rapidly changing and ambivalent situation" (ibid: 103). He argues that in this type of a situation there is the danger of serious emotional disturbance, but also the possibility of 'really positive and creative' development within the Sikh community over the next few generations.

Similarly a report produced by Anwar on behalf of the Community Relations Commission, concludes that the difficulties faced by young Asians are a result partly of a 'social and psychological gap between them and their parents due to a different social environment and education' and partly of 'the same type of hostility and discrimination from the majority population that their parents have experienced and tolerated. However, unlike their parents, young Asians are not prepared to accept discrimination as an inevitable part of British society' (CRC, 1976: 56). The report is somewhat limited in its scope, however, in that it employs the survey technique which constrains the subtleties of perception and interaction to emerge.

Finally, Ballard and Ballard (1977), reporting on their ethnographic study of Sikhs in Leeds, include a brief discussion of the second generation Asians. They indicate that in their experience, while many young Asians may go through a period of rebellion against their parents' values, almost all of them return to follow a modified version of Punjabi cultural

norms in their late teens and early twenties. They argue that this rebellion may in part be due to the fact that teenage rebellion is probably a universal phenomenon in industrial societies. Although these adolescents may become skilled at making multiple presentations of self, "the idea of 'becoming English' in a cultural sense is almost universally rejected" (Ballard & Ballard, 1977: 46).

Their individual merits notwithstanding, these studies are subject to certain criticisms. Firstly, a majority of these have been concerned with boys and not girls. Secondly, a comparison between the youth and the parental age-group is rarely included in any systematic way. Thirdly, there is still a tendency to regard Asian youth as being 'between two cultures' rather than being 'of two cultures'. An emphasis on the first is bound to have negative connotations of being in no-man's-land, of feeling disorientated, confused and in despair, yet this type of portrayal, in my experience, is inapplicable to a majority of Asian youth. Moreover, such an emphasis, whether the authors intended it or not, gives credence to the more popular interpretations which have a tendency to explain most problematic aspects related to Asian youth in terms primarily of 'cultural conflict' or 'inter-generational conflict'. Such interpretations are as likely to be presented by the media as by a lay person, a professional working in the helping agencies, or by some teachers. These views are likely to consider the Asian family as almost a pathological case, and the parental generation as the root cause of the pathology. The correlation between certain problems faced by Asian youth and the factors outside the age system might tend to be underplayed or ignored by those holding such a view.

Fourthly, when examing social change amongst Asians, these studies fail to make conceptual distinctions between the different levels at which the change in attitude or behaviour is being analysed. Fifthly, since these studies did not include an inter-ethnic comparison with the White majority

groups they are bound to, quite inadvertently perhaps, emphasize the difference rather than the similarity between them.

It is hoped that the present study will be able to overcome at least some of the objections noted above. The major objectives of the study are:

1. to make a comparison between Asian and English adolescents' perceptions of self, parents, teachers, and ethnically specific generalized categories of adults and peers (this to consist of their evaluation of the above-mentioned entities on a series of statements embodying issues relevant to the various facets of relationships between adolescents and adults, as well as to an inter-ethnic context); to identify any emerging ethnic and gender differences in perception.
2. to conduct in-depth personal interviews with a smaller sample of adolescents drawn from the above sample as well as with their parents in order to ascertain their views about marriage, family, and certain specified educational issues.
3. with the aid of the material gathered in (2) to:
   (i) examine continuity and change across age-groups.
   (ii) make a cross-ethnic comparison of continuity and change.
   (iii) utilize (ii) in order to identify the extent to which the difference between age-groups might be attributed to the fact that questioning of adult norms and practices is likely to be a characteristic of youth in most industrially developed societies; and to distinguish this more universal feature of the relationship between age-groups from those specific to the situation of Asians in contemporary Britain.
4. to compare the second-generation Asian adolescents' views about marriage and family with those held by their counterparts whose length of residence in Britain was less than two years; to utilize this

comparison in identifying those changes in the belief systems of the former which might reasonably be assumed to reflect the influence of British society.

The study aims to utilize both an interactionist and a structural-historical perspective. It takes as axiomatic Sheila Allen's point that "social relationships have to be understood as part of a dynamic process, in which social situations are the consequences of structural contradictions operating at different levels and with different intensity. Differentiation such as colour, immigrant and youth involve a consideration of the dialectical inter-relation of economic, power, and ideological structures" (Allen, 1968: 321).

The results will be discussed in relation to the historical context relevant to the arrival of Asians in Britain on the one hand, and that which shaped the development of traditional patterns of interaction and behavior between different Asian ethnic groups, on the other. In other words, an attempt will be made to take account of both those relevant factors, which locate the position of Asians in Britain as well as those which constitute their social base in the country of origin. That is, as far as possible and relevant, the influence of factors outside the age-system will be given due consideration.

Within the age-system, the analytical distinction postulated by Bengston and Black will be used to differentiate between the 'cohort level' and the 'lineage level' of analysis. Further, Marsland's distinction between change at the 'age-group' level and the more rare phenomenon of 'generational' change will be employed. No a priori assumptions are made that a high incidence of conflict between age-groups will be found. It will be a task of the study to, wherever appropriate, examine how and in what ways potential conflict is managed, diffused, displaced or rendered latent. In instances where conflict does arise, an attempt will be made

to identify the contributing factors. Finally, although the study cannot hope to cover the subject in any detail, a tentative exploration of the Asian adolescent identity will be made.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Introduction

It is apparent that the selection of methods and techniques employed in empirical research is governed by a number of factors. The choice may be limited by the nature of the problem under investigation, the researcher's approach to such problems, the time available for the research endeavour, etc. Once the selection has been made these approaches, methods and techniques set limits on the kinds of interpretations that may justifiably be placed on data at hand. As each step in selection, and indeed the very process of selection, involves some bias, strong claim to 'objectivity' may be rendered untenable. Of greater importance than mere awareness, perhaps, is the necessity of acknowledging such likelihood of bias. However, due to the degree to which the researcher becomes personally and inextricably involved in the research problem, he/she may not always be consciously aware of the various forms of bias that may have crept in. One way in which the difficulty may be overcome is by stating in detail those processes by which the investigator came to utilize a particular methodology or methodologies. To this end I shall describe as explicitly as possible the considerations which led to methodological decisions relevant to this study.

2.1 Preliminary Considerations

The study evolved from two areas of special interest to me: (1) continuity and change across generations, especially in the context of migration; (2) the link between home and school. It is evident that each of these topics may be approached separately and in many different ways. My first problem was that of designing a study encompassing both these interests and one which might be completed within a period of a

little over two years. On reflection it was apparent that the two areas of interest where quite logically connected. Both the home and the school can provide arenas in which the generations may be studied; and the comparative views of children and parents on issues related to school can, in turn, throw light on aspects of the link between home and school. Hence, the parent-child relationship was selected as the prime focus. This relationship constitutes the generational unit of this study. A notable consequence of this decision was that the focus should concentrate upon the micro-level of analysis. It must be added, however, that in the context of this study, the micro and macro levels of analysis are not thought of as being mutually exclusive. Any predictive value the study may have depends at least partially on the extent to which the micro-level may be referred to and interpreted in the context of the macro-level of analysis.

The next question to be considered concerned the choice of ethnic groups to be included in the study. I was particularly interested in the South Asian adolescents in Britain. This interest stems partly from the fact that I am myself of that origin and partly because terms such as 'intergenerational conflict' have been rapidly gaining currency in explicating most, if not all, problems connected with Asian youth. The assumptions underlying most popular conceptions of the problems faced by Asian teenagers growing up in Britain seem to take two extreme forms; either it is assumed that as the child is socialized to British values he/she automatically experiences severe conflicts at home or, that any racial prejudice experienced by these children may push them into 'cultural encapsulation'. Both assumptions suffer from an inadequate appreciation of (a) the flexibility with which families faced with new social structures and cultural meanings may redefine their intra-relations

and values and (b) the bearing which factors outside the age system may have on the form, extent or lack of conflict between parents and children. The topic, therefore, seemed to constitute a valid subject for further investigation, and one which necessitated the inclusion of Asian adolescents as well as their parents as the subjects of the study.

There was to my knowledge no study carried out in Britain at the time which had considered Asian adolescents and the parents together[1]. At the same time, it was anticipated that if the more universal aspects of the relations between Asian adolescents and their parents were to be separated from those associated with the processes of migration (e.g. the status of Asians in Britain, cultural differences), a comparison with their English counterparts was essential. Moreover, inter ethnic perceptions and relations were themselves a part of the area of investigation. A major concern in the selection of the sample, therefore, was to attempt to include equal numbers of Asian and English respondents in the study.

2.2 Research Strategy

The aims of the project were outlined in the first chapter. It became evident that in order to obtain the perceptions of a relatively large sample of adolescents a questionnaire method would need to be adopted. Yet such a method was not felt to be appropriate for use with parents. Moreover, the method is limiting in that it does not permit subtleties in perception and attitude to emerge in any detail. It seemed, therefore, that a combination of methods and techniques was, perhaps, more relevant to the purpose of the study. Accordingly, it was decided that a questionnaire would be administered to a relatively large sample of adolescents in schools and that this would be followed by in-depth interviews with a smaller sample of adolescents drawn from the above, and with

[1] Since then the Community Relations Commission have published their study which examines views of Asian adolescents and parents. The study differs methodologically from the present one in that it relies mainly on survey techniques. 'Between Two Cultures: A study of relationships between generations in the Asian community in Britain', C.R.C. 1976.

the matched parents of this smaller sample. It was anticipated that due to the limited time available, it would not be feasible to include a large number of family case-studies. As a result the perceptions of adolescents constitute the major emphasis of the study.

The strategy which seemed most appropriate was to conduct the adolescent part of the study within schools and the interviews with parents in their respective homes. The overall research strategy was conceptualized as follows·

1. To administer a questionnaire to 15-16 year old English and Asian boys and girls in schools located in an area with a substantial Asian population.
2. To observe in class and subsequently conduct group discussions with a smaller sample drawn from the above.
3. To conduct in-depth, semi-structured, tape-recorded interviews with this smaller sample.
4. To conduct informal, in-depth, semi-structured but not tape-recorded interviews with the parents of this sub-sample. The decision to discard the use of tape-recorder in this instance was based on the view that it might inhibit informal, spontaneous discussions. The children, on the other hand, have more experience of being recorded in language classes etc. and consequently were thought to be more amenable to the interviews being recorded. The parental responses were recorded by hand on paper. It might, of course, be argued that this is no less intrusive a method. It is maintained, however, that verbatim recording on a tape-recorder is likely to be regarded with greater suspicion than the scribbling of a researcher. These notes were re-written in greater detail immediately upon return from the interview.

5. For the researcher (myself) to reside in the area during the duration of the project. This 'participant observation' it was hoped, would provide some insights into the broader societal context in which the age-groups interact with each other and with their English counterparts. Since I lived with my brother and his family on the outskirts of Southall, personal links with the Asian community through family and friendships network provided an important source of information.

It may be worth pointing out here that the adolescents interviewed were informed about my intention to talk with their parents only after the interview with an adolescent had been completed. This was because it was felt that such prior knowledge would be likely to bias their responses in the direction of socially acceptable ones. In instances where an adolescent did not wish his/her parents to be contacted, such a wish was duly respected.

Southall was chosen as the location for the study because it has a significant Asian population and a majority among this population is Punjabis, the linguistic group to which I belong. As many Asian parents are unable to converse in English, it is important that the researcher is familiar with their languages. Other sub-continental languages which I am familiar with are Urdu, Hindi and Gujrati. I must add, however, that although I am fluent in the first two, my knowledge of the third is rather limited. This language background, it was hoped, would enable me to converse with parents of a majority of the respondents in their own language. In the event only one girl from the sub-sample turned out to have a South Indian language as a mother tongue - i.e. a language I was totally unfamiliar with. However, since her parents were fluent in English the interview was conducted in this language. They were delighted that unlike most of the Asians they encounter in Southall, I

was at least acquainted with the name of their language (Malyalam)!

Within schools all the procedures were carried out in English. Only one Asian boy seemed to have difficulty in expressing himself in English; the interview with him was conducted in Punjabi. The choice of English with Asian children was based on three considerations. First, it seemed that suggestions on my part to use mother tongue may be interpreted by Asian boys and girls as a judgement on their ability to handle the English language. Second, the expression of views on issues such as sex-education in the presence of an adult (myself) of their own ethnic group may have been inhibited if the mother tongue had been used. When English is used as the mode of expression, the traditional role expectations concerning teenagers and adults might be less circumscribed. These topics in any case had been included only after it had emerged from group discussions with adolescents of both ethnic groups that such issues were considered by them as being particularly relevant. Third, it was anticipated that Asian boys and girls born here, or those who came to Britain at a very young age, may not have sufficient command of the mother tongue to express themselves adequately. This assumption was not based on a naive view that they would not speak the mother tongue at all. Indeed it is common knowledge that most Asian children speak in their mother tongues at home. However, it is equally important to acknowledge that in view of the limited facilities available for formal teaching of mother tongue in schools as well as at home, most Asian children possess only a rudimentary and fragmented knowledge of their mother tongue. They tend to combine English words and phrases with those derived from the mother tongue.

2.3 The Sample

The main adolescent sample comprises boys and girls who were pupils

in the fifth form of their respective schools. Nearly all were aged 15-16. Data obtained from the small number who were either 14 or over 16 were subsequently excluded from the analysis. This narrower age range was used in order to minimize the effects of maturational processes on the development of value system among adolescents. The sub-sample consists of a smaller sample of adolescents drawn from the main sample as well as a group of 16-year-old Asian boys and girls attending a centre of further education concerned with the teaching of English as a second language. As the length of residence in England of this group was less than two years, it was hoped that they would constitute an interesting comparison with their counterparts who have had most of their education in Britain. As their knowledge of English was rather limited, they were interviewed in their mother tongue. Parents of the adolescents in the sub sample comprise the adult sample of the study. Numerical details about the sample will be provided in a later section.

The decision to include adolescents as opposed to a younger age-group, and the 15-16 age group in particular, was precipitated by a number of considerations. Adolescence is a period of the development of physiological and cognitive complexity. Piaget suggests that unlike a child of younger age, the adolescent is commonly capable of theoretical and abstract thought in which reality may become dominated by possibility. The adolescent may proceed to test and exercise these newly found capabilities for reasoning and abstract thought in the family as well as the external world. The desire to exert himself/herself, to experiment with new ideas and to explore new vistas of experience may bring the adolescent into potential conflict with the values of parents, schools, and society in general.

The 15-16 age-group is of particular interest also because it is

at about this point that the English education system requires the adolescent to make choices regarding his/her future career. These adolescents have to decide whether they wish to leave school at the age of 16 and join the world of work or whether they would prefer to enter some form of further education. These choices are, of course, not free of certain constraints. The individual's ability, family background, class background etc. may limit the choices available. Still, no matter how circumscribed the opportunities, decisions must nevertheless be made. These decisions have ramifications not only for career prospects but also for the age at which marriages may be contracted, the type of marriage partner chosen, and so on. Questions abound, such as 'Who am I?' vis a vis my family, other ethnic groups in society, other social classes in society, vis a vis members of both own and the opposite sex, etc. That is, questions concerned with occupational, sexual and ethnic identity acquire increasing significance in the mind of the adolescent. Of course, the degree to which particular issues may become more salient than others is dependent on a number of factors but it can be suggested with confidence that questions of identity are of considerable importance. Search for a meaningful identity according to Erik Erikson is an important (and possibly the prime) concern of the adolescent. In other words, continuity as well as discontinuity in inter-generational perceptions may be conveniently highlighted if the adolescent-parent relationship is employed as the unit of analysis.

2.4 Methods and techniques

It may be apparent from the foregoing that the methods utilized in this study are those of questionnaire, personal interview and observation. The decision to combine quantitative and qualitative methods was guided

largely by a conviction that such a combination would yield a wide range of information relevant to the problem at hand. The questionnaire seemed an appropriate and efficient instrument for collecting information from a relatively large sample. Such a sample size seemed necessary if cross-ethnic generalizations were to be made with some degree of confidence. At the same time the limitations of the questionnaire method had to be borne in mind. It was felt that although the questionnaire would generate a considerable amount of quantitative data, the emerging picture might be relatively static. As the responses were to be expressed through a fixed number of provided constructs, individual expression would be constrained. Moreover, one of the major concerns of the study was to document the varying patterns of consensus and discontinuity in the belief systems of parents and adolescents within each ethnic group. In order to traverse as wide a range of this spectrum as possible, personal interviews and observation seemed in order. It was anticipated that this would further elucidate data obtained from the questionnaire.

Another aspect which merits discussion under this section is the fact that the researcher, too, is a part of the methodology. Of particular relevance may be the question of potential bias introduced by the ethnic background of the researcher. On the one hand, it may be argued that if the researcher belongs to the ethnic group under investigation he/she may not be able to maintain the necessary distance and objectivity; on the other, a case could be made that a complete outsider would be most unlikely to achieve sufficient empathy with the subjects to fully appreciate the hidden and subtle meanings of their culture. The view adopted here is that while some degree of distance is necessary, the second argument is equally if not more persuasive. A fairly intimate

knowledge of the social milieu to which the respondents belong is essential if superficial interpretation of their responses are to be minimized. The requisite distance may obtain simply from the fact that the researcher opts for a particular area for study because it has not been adequately investigated before, and the researcher cannot a priori predict responses of the group to be studied. The researcher, therefore, is always an outsider to some extent. Moreover, the very act of understanding and explicating data involves a process of distancing oneself from the phenomenon under investigation.

Extant literature on 'experimenter effects' demonstrates that certain characteristics (e.g. age, sex, ethnic background etc.) of an investigator have systematic effects on the responses of the subjects (Rosenthal 1966; Sattler 1970; Rosenberg & Simmons 1972; Watson 1968; Brah, Fuller, Louden & Miles, 1977). However, the findings are not always consistent with regard to the direction in which the responses may be influenced. This points to the complex nature of the interactional process, and seems to suggest that the 'bias' due to investigator/respondent effects is an inherent part of research and should not be seen as an artefact.

2.4.1 The Questionnaire

There are two parts to the questionnaire: (1) social background questionnaire; (2) the semantic differential.

2.4.1.1 The Social Background Questionnaire

The social background questionnaire aimed to gather biographical information. Biographical data on each respondent include his/her age, sex, religion, place of birth, languages spoken at home, length of residence in England, length of attendance at English schools, the time when the respondent intended to leave school, place of mother and father's

birth, urban/rural background prior to migration to London, and the father's occupation in the country of origin as well as in Britain. In formulating these questions, great care was taken to minimize any feeling on the part of the respondents that they were selected on the basis of their ethnic background. For example, the question on place of birth lists all countries that the individuals in the sample may potentially be drawn from. A category 'other' was designated to include countries inadvertently omitted. This particular category proved useful in eliciting interesting information which would otherwise have been missed, as for example the fact that a small number of respondents were either themselves born or had parents who were born in countries such as Fiji or Singapore. For details of the biographical questionnaire see Appendix I.

2.4.1.2 The Semantic Differential

The semantic differential technique was designed by Charles E. Osgood (1952). Since then it has been extensively used in the fields of developmental, experimental, clinical and social psychology; aesthetics and communication research; cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies etc.

With regard to research concerned with ethnic minorities in Britain, the semantic differential has been used by Hill (1973) and Louden (1977) to study views of adolescents of English, West Indian and Asian background. The technique aims to differentiate between concepts in terms of their meaning. It postulates that the process of description or judgement can be viewed as the allocation of a concept to an experiental continuum which may be described by polar terms, and that many of these experiental continua are essentially equivalent and hence may be represented by a single dimension. Further, a limited number of such continua or scales can be used to define a semantic space within which the meaning of any

concept can be specified. In other words, a major premise of the technique is that human semantic judgement may be explained in terms of a relatively small set of clusters of scales or orthogonal factors which measure similar semantic connotations.

The notion of a continuum between polar terms has been operationalised in the technique by using such terms (e.g. good-bad, kind-unkind) to define the ends of a seven point scale. Typically a semantic differential comprises a number of opposing pairs of adjective-scales listed down a page with the concept to be judged appearing at the top of the page. The subjects rate the concept in terms of each of the adjective-scale. Some 10,000 adjectives have been sampled by Osgood and his associates based on the Spew hypothesis - that the "availability" of words is directly related to the frequency with which the words have been experienced. The "availability" of words is assessed by word association technique (Warr and Knapper, 1968). Many representative samples drawn from this pool of scales have been factor analysed. It has been found that provided sufficient number of scales have been used, three major factors are invariably extracted. Osgood has named these as the 'evaluative' 'activity' and 'potency' factors. Detailed accounts of the rationale and use of the semantic differential technique are provided by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) and Snider and Osgood (1969).

The technique is claimed to be robust in terms of its reliability and validity. It is flexible and generalizable; its content in terms of concepts and scales may be varied to fit a particular interest. Despite the variability in the particular concepts and scales employed, its generalizability and comparability, according to Osgood et al (1957) resides in the allocation of concepts to a common set of factors. The technique has been highly recommended by Warr and Knapper for use in person perception: "We originally approached this measure with caution

and a certain amount of scepticism, and have spent considerable time investigating its suitability. We have gathered evidence which compels the conclusion that it is a very satisfactory measure which can fruitfully be used to measure a wide variety of aspects of person perception" (Warr and Knapper 1968: 55).

2.4.1.2.1 Semantic Differential Form Used In This Study

As the study is concerned with the respondents' perceptions of people rather than any other form of stimulus, the term 'entity' rather than 'concept' will be used to describe these persons. Further, in order to convey a sense of the process of construal involved in evaluating entities, scales will hereafter be referred to as 'constructs'.

Selection of entities

In selecting the entities I was guided primarily by the objectives of the research. For the purposes of this study, the social world of the adolescent was conceptualized as constituting two broad generation categories: the adult generation including parents and teachers; and the respondent's own age-group. These categories were in turn classified according to sex and ethnic background of the entities in question. Facets of the self image as well as certain particularized entities such as 'My best friend', 'The kind of person I would like to marry' were also included (for details see Appendix 1A). The respondents were required to assign each entity a value on a seven point (1-7) grading scale according to the applicability of the construct.

One of the ways in which the semantic differential format used here differs from that described in the previous section is that the entities are listed vertically on the left hand side of the page, and the bi-polar constructs appear one at the top of each page. By requiring the respondents to compare all the entities on a single construct before proceeding to the next, this format maximizes the possibility that the respondents'

evaluations of entities will constitute truly comparative judgements. At the same time, the chances of a response set bias developing are minimised.

Selection of constructs

The most commonly used procedure by research workers using the semantic differential is to select a representative sample from those which have consistently shown high loadings on the three factors, namely 'evaluative', 'activity' and 'potency' factors. Complete reliance on these constructs was considered inadequate for the purposes of this study. Constructs which would reflect issues relevant to the various facets of relationships between adolescents and adults and to an inter-ethnic context were deemed extremely important. A preliminary list based on previous experience with adolescents was drawn up to include the following categories of constructs:

1. Those that explicitly specify relationships between parents and children e.g. 'get on well with their parents - do not get on well with their parents'.
2. Those concerned with marital relationships.
3. Those related to modern vs. traditional outlook and open vs. close mindedness vis a vis ways of life different from one's own.
4. Those dealing with individualism and freedom.
5. Attributes describing personal habits and conduct.

The following three pairs of constructs which have been found to show a high loading on the 'evaluative' factor were also included: clean - dirty; kind - unkind; fair - unfair.

Edwards (1957: 14) has summarized various informal criteria suggested by previous researchers for editing statements to be used in the development of scales. Particular attention was paid to the following points set out in his list:

1. Avoid statements that refer to the past rather than to the present.
2. Avoid statements that may be interpreted in more than one way.
3. Avoid statements that are irrelevant to the psychological object under consideration.
4. Keep the language of the statements simple, clear and direct.
5. Statements should be short.
6. Each statement should contain only one complete thought.
7. Avoid the use of words that may not be understood by those who are to be given the completed scale.

The preliminary list was discussed with a number of individuals who have considerable experience with Asian and English adolescents either in their capacity as researchers or teachers. They were asked to bear the above points in mind while commenting on the constructs. Due account was taken of their suggestions in further editing of the constructs. The edited constructs were then written on cards, one per card, and the cards shuffled to randomize the order in which constructs would appear in the questionnaire. In addition, wherever the socially desirable or undesirable pole seemed explicit, care was taken to avoid all positive or all negative poles appearing on one side of the page. The form of the semantic differential was piloted in one of the schools taking part in the study. At this stage it consisted of 20 entities and 28 constructs. The pilot study will be discussed in Section 2.5.2.

2.4.2 The Interview Schedule

As noted earlier, it was anticipated that the information provided by the semantic differential would be inadequate in providing the detail and depth of information required to ascertain the diversity in patterns of perception and interaction among respondents. The personal interview is a more appropriate technique for obtaining such information. Some of its main advantages may be summarized as follows:

1. In a face to face situation the investigator is able to adjust the techniques (in order, for example, to make the informant feel at ease) to suit the personal characteristics of the informant such that feelings of mistrust and suspicion may be diminished.
2. The language of the schedule may be adapted to suit the ability and educational level of the informants. Questions that may appear ambiguous to the informant may be rephrased. This consideration was of great importance in the present study as the informants included adolescents of mixed abilities and parents of different linguistic and social background.
3. Personal interview technique permits the reactions of the informants to be closely observed. The order of questions covering sensitive issues may therefore be changed according to the reactions elicited from the respondent, and, indeed, if necessary the subject may be changed altogether.
4. The interviewer may remain alert to any deliberate effort on the part of the informant to restrain from divulging information or to falsify it, and act accordingly.
5. Once some degree of rapport is established, more spontaneous responses may be elicited.
6. The investigator is able to obtain supplementary information about the informant's personal characteristics and environment which may be invaluable in interpreting his/her responses.

Personal interview, therefore, is a powerful technique. Its major drawback is that due to the idiosyncratic nature of responses, they may be difficult to codify and interpret (Miller, 1970). This problem was partly overcome by conducting semi-structured rather than unstructured interviews. Exactly the same subject matter was covered with all respondents, although the ordering of questions varied slightly from

person to person. Questions which might be construed as being personal were always preceded by those of a more generalized and thereby, perhaps, of a less threatening nature. Topics discussed during these interviews have centred on issues of relevance to the teenagers both in and outside school. These include relationships with parents (communication, shared activities, responsibilities towards and expectations of, etc.), marital relationships (dating, arranged marriages, mixed marriages, extended vs. nuclear families, divorce, housework, etc.), views on school related matters (examinations, discipline in school, truancy, vandalism, single sex schools, sex education in schools, school uniforms, jobs, teachers, etc.) and views on what they consider the most/least desirable characteristics of life in Southall. As some topics were discussed with both adolescents and their parents, the interview schedules used with the two groups are very similar (Appendix V).

2.5 Description of Administrative Procedures

2.5.1 Negotiating access to schools

Southall, one of the constituent parts of the London Borough of Ealing, has three secondary schools. Two of these are former secondary moderns and one used to be a grammar school. In order to obtain a sample comprising a cross-section of social class backgrounds and mental abilities, it seemed necessary to include all three schools in the study. A visit was made to the 'Immigrant Education Advisor' of the Ealing Education Authority with whom the aims and the strategy of the project were discussed at some length. He expressed interest in the project and pledged support for the research proposal. Following this visit a letter was written to the Chief Education Officer seeking his permission to use the schools in question. He gave his approval provided the heads of the respective schools raised no objection. Letters were then written to the heads of the schools seeking their co-operation. In order to ascertain

any objections on their part to the questionnaire, copies of it were sent along with the letters. No objections were raised at this stage. All three heads gave their permission and allocated the responsibility of liaising with me to a particular teacher in their respective schools.

2.5.2 The Pilot Study

The purpose of the pilot was (a) to ascertain whether the wording of the questionnaire was understood by the respondents and whether the categories used were meaningful to them, (b) to obtain an estimate of the time required to complete the questionnaire, and (c) to decide which constructs, if any, needed to be excluded. The pilot was conducted with a small sample in one of the three schools.

The respondents were randomly selected from a list of all fifteen year old children in the school. Although it was originally intended to use a sample of 20 (5 in each ethnic/sex group), a slight misunderstanding between the teacher liaising with me and the teachers from whose classes the sample was to be drawn resulted in only 11 pupils being actually available. This sample consisted of 4 Asians (2 boys and 2 girls), 6 English (one boy and five girls) and one West Indian boy. The data obtained from the single West Indian were not analysed.

Verbal instructions were given on how to fill in the questionnaire (Appendix IV). A chart was used to illustrate the use of semantic differential scales. Respondents were informed that their participation in the project was voluntary and that information gathered would be treated as being completely confidential. They were not required to give their names in the questionnaire. Further, they were encouraged to ask questions, especially points of clarification about the questionnaire as and when they arose. To do this, they were requested to raise their hand and I would respond by speaking to them individually.

The completion of the questionnaire was followed by an informal discussion with the respondents. Although most said they found the questionnaire interesting, they were unanimous in their view that it was too long; the average time taken was one and a half hours. They also commented on the constructs which they found difficult to understand or apply. A few wished that some open-ended questions had been included so that they could have expressed their views in a less restricted manner. Bearing in mind the respondent's criticism of the length of the questionnaire, the number of constructs was reduced from 28 to 21 (see Appendix IIB). Four criteria were used in carrying this out:

1. The difficulty experienced by the respondent in using a particular category.
2. Five independent judges were asked to group together constructs nearest in meaning, and if some were found to repeat the meaning, to indicate those which should be discarded. The degree of consensus between the judges was used as the second criterion. The instructions given to the judges to carry out this task appear in Appendix III.
3. The specific interests of the research which had guided the original selection of constructs were referred to again so that the relevance of constructs to the area under investigation may be reassessed in the light of the first two criteria.

Using these criteria, the following seven construct pairs were discarded:

1. Kind - Unkind
2. Sincere - Insincere
3. Loyal - Disloyal
4. Keep out of trouble - Get into trouble

5. Mind their own business - Interfere in others' lives
6. For them the family comes first - Not so tied to their families
7. Respect other people's way of life - Tend to think their way of life is the best

The final version of the semantic differential, therefore, consisted of 20 entities and 21 constructs.

2.5.3 The Main Study

Data gathering for the main study began during the Autumn of 1975. The earlier intention to administer the questionnaire to all pupils attending the fifth form in their respective schools was possible in only two schools. Administration of the questionnaire in the third school did not begin until November and only a single class per week was available. As the mock examinations in this school were being held in January and the head was concerned that the school work of the pupils should not be interrupted from February onwards, this part of data gathering had to be completed by Christmas. As a consequence only half the fifth form completed the questionnaire. The questionnaire was given to all pupils in order to minimize any feeling on their part that they were selected on the basis of their ethnic background. However, the data derived from the West Indian respondents were excluded from the analysis.

The adolescent main sample

The questionnaire was administered to 374 pupils. Out of these 265 constitute the useable sample. The useable sample is as follows:

Table 1 The Useable Sample

	Boys	Girls	Total
Indian/Pakistanis	79	66	145
English	64	56	120

A breakdown of the non-useable sample is as follows:

Table 2 The Non-Useable Sample

West Indians	43
Incompletes	44
English speaking Fijian Asian	1
Maltese	1
Direct refusals	5
Indirect refusals	3
14 year old pupils	8
17 year old pupils	4
Total	109

It is evident that the West Indians and respondents who were not able to complete the questionnaire within the allotted time constitute the bulk of the non-useable sample. The large number in the later category suggests that the questionnaire should have been edited down to an even shorter length. As participation in the project was voluntary, the five respondents (4 Asian boys and 1 English girl) who declined to fill in the questionnaire were allowed to quietly get on with their own work.

The category 'indirect refusals' warrants further explanation. These Asian boys did not decline to fill the questionnaire but have written obscenities inside the questionnaire. It is, of course, not easy to interpret this response. It is quite likely that these boys were just annoyed by the prospect of having to complete a questionnaire, and wrote these comments out of boredom. It is also possible that they resented researchers seeking information which the pupils might have considered private. Equally, they might have been reluctant to stereotype groups, or at least give public expression to their views. That this might have been the case was borne out by occasional comments to the effect that it was not fair to be asked to evaluate a group on the basis of knowing a few individual members of that group. It also appeared that respondents

who made these comments were more reluctant to complete the questionnaire because it included ethnic categories. This would suggest that they were sensitive about their position as members of an 'ethnic minority. The extent to which other respondents may have felt the same is difficult to assess, but one may assume that at least a few others may have had these misgivings but did not express them. It is also worth mentioning that there was at least one person in every class who asked how the information gathered would be used. This seems to indicate a concern on their part that the information might be misused.

2.5.4 Observation in classes

Subsequent to the administration of the questionnaire, I observed a limited number of classes in each of the three schools. The main purpose of this venture was to establish rapport with pupils, some of whom would later be interviewed. That access to certain classes was permitted while not to others depended largely on the question of administrative convenience to the respective schools. In two schools I was permitted to observe pupils while they were attending social studies. A sympathetic teacher at one of these two schools allowed me to observe his class while he taught English. In the third school I was able to observe three religious studies classes. As religious studies was a compulsory subject in this school, the sample drawn from these classes was quite representative of the school population. Each class was observed once per week and the observation period extended over two and a half months. During this period, it was possible to develop a fairly trusting relationship with the pupils. Occasionally the teachers concerned would leave the period free for me to conduct group discussions with the pupils. During these sessions, the class would be divided into small groups and each group would be asked to discuss issues which in their view were of particular interest or relevance to teenagers in contemporary society. By the end

of the period each group was expected to produce a list of five rules which it would wish parents to observe in relation to adolescents and vice versa. Apart from its intrinsic interest this data suggested a small number of new questions for the interview schedule. It emerged, for instance, that topics such as sex education were considered relevant for discussion by all ethnic groups. If these discussions had not taken place, some of these topics may have been considered too sensitive for inclusion in the interview schedule.

A stratified sample comprising approximately equal number of Asian and English adolescents was selected from these classes for the purpose of interviews. Each pupil was interviewed individually.

With regard to the centre of further education, its small size, relatively informal atmosphere and sympathetic staff made conducting of research there much easier. The age range of students attending this centre was between 16 and 19; the length of residence in Britain of the majority was less than two years. The number of visits to the centre varied from time to time. Approximately two visits per week were made there. A number of different classes were observed and group discussions in Hindi/Urdu were conducted with the students. When sufficient rapport was established, all 16 year old boys and girls attending the centre were individually interviewed. These two groups of adolescents - one drawn from the secondary schools and the other from the further education centre - constitute the sub-sample.

Table 3 The Sub-Sample

	From secondary schools		From F.E. centre		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Indian/Pakistani	12	14	9	6	41
English	10	11	0	0	21

Additional data on adolescents consists of:

(i) recorded group discussion outside school with five 15-16 year old English boys who were members of the Boys Brigade. They were introduced to me by their troupe leader who was employed at the centre of further education. All five attended secondary schools in Southall.

(ii) recorded interviews with two 17 year old Asian girls who were studying for A levels at a college of further education but who, until recently, had attended secondary schools in Southall.

(iii) a recorded interview outside school with a 15 year old Asian boy who was in the process of transferring to one of the schools in the sample.

2.5.5 Contact with Parents

At the end of an interview with an adolescent he/she was informed that I would like to have the opportunity to discuss similar issues with his/her parents. The adolescent was then asked if he/she had any reservations about the parents being interviewed and whether he/she anticipated objections on the part of the parents. The adolescents were assured that my promise of confidentiality to them would be strictly adhered to. 8 respondents (2 Asian girls; 4 English girls; 2 English boys) said that they would prefer if their parents were not contacted. These parents were excluded from the sample.

In making the initial contact with parents, it was considered desirable to employ a different strategy with each ethnic group. It was felt that the English parents would respond more favourably to a formal

approach, whereas the Asians would be more receptive to an informal one. Accordingly a letter was sent to the English parents soliciting their cooperation and informing them of my intention to visit them on a particular day in order to arrange a further meeting. The letter was followed by a brief visit during which the appointment for the interview was made. Only one set of parents declined to participate. In the case of Asian parents, the brief visit was not preceded by a letter because it was felt that the letter may be viewed by them as referring to yet another survey by another official agency. The purpose of the interview was explained at the time of the first visit. This personal contact facilitated a way of relating not possible in a letter. No refusals occurred. As six out of the 21 English adolescents interviewed had expressed a desire that their parents should not be interviewed, only 15 English pairs of parents were available for this purpose. As one set of parents refused, only 14 were interviewed. However, the parents of one English boy from the group of five who were interviewed outside school were also interviewed. Due to the limited time available, only 29 out of 41 sets of Asian parents were interviewed.

Table 4 The Parent Sample

	No. of respondents
Asian	29
English	15
Total	44

2.6 Reactions of members of the school staff to the questionnaire

It has already been noted that no objections to the questionnaire were raised by any of the schools either at the initial stages of negotiation, or when the pilot was carried out. However, on the day that the main study was to be mounted in the school where the pilot had been conducted,

a number of problems were encountered. I was informed on my arrival at the school that the headmaster wished to see me. The headmaster gave me to understand that two members of his staff had expressed concern at the possible deleterious effects of the questionnaire on the pupils. He wondered if it was ethical to ask pupils to evaluate their parents or teachers on attributes such as dirty - clean. His school, he added, was located in a 'social priority' area and some of his pupils were already on the brink of defying the authority of teachers and parents. He did not feel it was right to encourage pupils to explore certain issues upon which the questionnaire had a bearing. Further, he was concerned that the questionnaire would have a cumulative effect and raise questions in the minds of the pupils, which I would not, at a later date, be there to discuss with them.

I informed the headmaster that while I shared his concern for the pupils and was in full agreement with him that utmost caution should be exercised in these matters, I was not entirely convinced that potentially difficult issues ought not to be brought into the open. I reiterated my intention to pursue these issues further with small groups of pupils, and added that participation in the project was voluntary and the information collected was confidential. This appeared to reassure him and I was permitted to carry on with the project. However, the teacher originally assigned to help me with the organisation aspects of the research in school was replaced by the head of the fifth form. From the comments of the former, it may be inferred that the head had bypassed a level in the hierarchy of authority by designating the responsibility of liaising with me to a teacher who was not the head of the form. When the latter became aware of the existence of a proposed project, he exercised his authority as a senior master and asked to see the questionnaire.

Subsequently, he registered his disapproval of certain facets of the questionnaire with the deputy head, who carried the complaint to the headmaster. It is not possible to assess the extent to which the disapproval on the part of this senior teacher reflected an attempt to assert the authority vested in his position, or to what extent it was a genuine complaint. Probably elements of both were present.

In the second school, no views on the questionnaire were expressed until after it had been administered. During a conversation with the deputy head it transpired that the school had a student counsellor who might be interested in my research. The deputy head suggested I arrange a meeting with the counsellor especially since she might be in a position to assist me in gaining access to the parents. However, the meeting with her produced quite the opposite effect. As soon as the nature of the study was disclosed to her, she began to expound her views on the subject of 'immigrants'. She told me with some vehemence that if the immigrants had chosen to come to Britain, they must be prepared to conform to the way of life here. She added that she was appalled that five year old Asian children born here were unable to speak English. An infant teacher had informed her that many parents discouraged children from speaking English at home. In her view, they should not then complain if their children were held back by 'language difficulties'. Her perceptions of Asian parents were both somewhat stereotyped and unimaginative. She added, "If they want single-sex schools, they should go some place where they can find them. Why should we provide them with such schools? We prefer mixed schools." It is interesting that she made no reference to the English families who were of equal concern to the study. In the light of these unsolicited views which seemed to preclude any real dialogue, it was felt prudent not to pursue the matter any further. As part of the general information on the project a copy of the questionnaire was given

to her.

During my subsequent visit I learnt from a teacher that 'a big furore' had followed my meeting with the counsellor. I was then summoned to the headmaster's office where the student counsellor was also present and informed that they considered the questionnaire potentially objectionable to the pupils and that it might start a chain reaction which might subsequently result in the parents 'knocking on the door'. The Asian community, the headmaster said, was on the "edge of a precipice" and the questionnaire would "touch a raw nerve". He preferred to maintain a low profile on certain issues. A single sheet from the questionnaire, he added, would be sufficient to make the front page headlines of the local papers. Researchers and the media, in his opinion, often served to exacerbate potential tensions in a multi-cultural society. The expenditure on the type of research institution I represented was, according to him, a misuse of public funds. Furthermore, he informed me that a colleague of mine had made an earlier application to the school to make a study of "the attitude to sex of West Indians". (The colleague in question was in fact interested in studying gender identity and had approached the local authority for permission to use one school for research.)

In reply, I informed the head that out of the 97 pupils in his school to whom the questionnaire was given, only two had declined to fill it in. Furthermore, the school had received no complaints, to my knowledge, from parents or from any other source. This piece of information seemed to allay his fears somewhat, and I was permitted to continue interviewing the adolescents. However, he felt that the school could not in any way assist me in facilitating introduction to the parents. In the third school, no adverse reactions were encountered.

It is difficult to offer a simple and precise explanation for these responses on the part of the schools, but a few inferences of a generalized nature may be made:

1. A researcher's authority and/or status is associated with the profession and the institution he/she represents. To the extent that schools are willing to give some recognition to the utility of any research activity, the researcher's authority is legitimized. However, the researcher is not directly subject to the authority of the school. The position of the researcher within the authority structure of the school is, therefore, rather anomalous and accordingly elicits a somewhat ambivalent response from the school. There is also the point that, as an outsider, he/she may pose a threat to the hierarchy of authority in the school. Despite careful planning and tact on the part of the investigator, his/her project may inadvertently get involved in both authority and power transactions between members of the staff.
2. The teachers may not hold researchers in high esteem because the research findings are unlikely to produce any 'immediate benefits' for the school. The researcher is likely, therefore, to be seen as an unwelcome outsider who 'takes up valuable time'.
3. The schools may view researchers as amateurs in the field of community relations, and may be reluctant to credit the investigator with the necessary tact or subtlety of approach essential in any research endeavour which touches upon this field.
4. The schools appear to prefer to present an image of themselves as being apolitical. They may therefore attempt to depoliticize controversial issues by adopting a low profile on them or by ignoring them.

5. The ethnic background of the researcher may be of some relevance in the way the research is construed by the schools. It was interesting that during my discussions with teachers my interest in the English adolescents and their families was rarely recognised by them.

6. There would seem to be a tendency on the part of the schools to view parents as adversaries likely to level criticism at schools at the earliest opportunity. Their concern for the effect of research procedures on their pupils is understandable as is their anticipation of some adverse reactions from the parents, but they tend to attribute certain anxiety and response patterns to the parents in a way which may be very far from actual reality.

It would seem that the schools and the teachers within them tend to regard themselves as gatekeepers against any outside observers such as a researcher. The observer is likely to be regarded as an undesirable intruder whose presence might trigger off responses among the pupils which could pose a threat to the conflict management function of the school. The schools are often reluctant to admit to the subtle and intricate ways in which they themselves are part of structures and processes which serve to transmit and reproduce the ideological bases of potential social conflict.

Having described the methodology, the next chapter attempts to outline some of the more outstanding features of the history of migration from the Indian sub-continent, the growth of the Asian settlements in Southall, the educational issues which the arrival of the Asians brought to the fore, and the socio-economic and demographic changes in Southall which have coincided with the period of Asian settlement.

Chapter 3

Immigration Patterns From the Indian Sub-continent and the Growth of Asian Settlements in Southall

Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the migration link between the Indian sub-continent and Britain and then goes on to describe the growth of Asian populations in Southall. The main aim here is to outline some of the more outstanding features of the historical antecedents to the present day inter-group relations in Southall. Clearly when discussing these one has to be aware of the dangers of compressing and synthesizing historical evidence. Such an exercise may result in a rather simplistic view of history. But broadly speaking one is concerned to emphasize that group histories play an important role in shaping the degree, type and quality of interaction between individuals and groups in the modern day context.

The Chapter is divided into two sections. The first deals with factors associated with the sub-continental end of the migratory chain and the second with those specific to the Southall context.

2.1 The Sub-continental End of the Migration Chain

The major aim in this section is to outline those developments in the history of the Sub-continent which may have a bearing on the structuring of attitudes and social relations between different categories of Asians in Southall as well as between the Asians and the English community.

2.1.1 The Pre-colonial Period

2.1.1.1 The Ancient Invasions and the Evolution of Caste

Migration has played an important role throughout the recorded

history of the Indian sub-continent. One of the earliest migrations to India in olved the Aryans. These peoples apparently arrived around 1500 B.C. at a time when the Indus Valley Civilization (or the Ha rappa Culture) was in decline (Thapar 1966).

The Harappa Culture was at its peak around 2300 B.C. with its major centres of authority located in the cities of Mohenjdaro and Harappa. Archeological evidence suggests that it was essentially an urban culture, maintained by the surplus produce of the country on the one hand, and trade (between the northern and western areas of the sub-continent as well as with countries in the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia) on the other. In contrast, the Aryan invaders were mainly semi-nomadic, pastoral tribes which took to agriculture only gradually. During the early periods of settlement inter-tribal rivalries as well as conflict with the indigenous people of non-Aryan origin were quite common. The Aryans used the term Dasa to refer to the indigenous people. During the process of subjugation of the latter by the former, the term Dasa came to mean a slave.

Initially, the Aryan society was apparently differentiated into three groups: the warriors or the aristocracy, the priests, and the common people. But the process of settlement in India involved a change from nomadic pastoralism to a settled agrarian society. This change entailed the specialisation of labour and was accompanied by a power struggle between the different occupational groups. Thus the evolution of the term 'Varna' classifying Hindu society into four sections, namely the Brahamans (priests), Kshatriyas (Warriors), Vaishyas (merchants) and Shudras (the servile classes) can be seen to reflect not merely

occupational differentiation but also the coalescing of a status heirarchy. That this was the case is further evidenced by the fact that the so-called Untouchables, a category of people who performed very menial jobs, were considered to be outside the caste system.

In the early period of these conquests, the kings according to Thapar (1966) belonged to the Kshatriyas (warriors) varna. By virtue of their function to protect the community against aggression from outside, members of this varna constituted the dominant group. Over a period of time, however, the Brahmans (priests) who were economically parasitic on the society, secured ascendency over the warriors by claiming that they alone could bestow divinity on the king. Religion and political power thus became inextricably linked and gradually caste[1] evolved into a complex hereditary system of stratification. Caste distinctions became institutionalised in the elaborate laws of pollution in respect of eating and physical contact between members of the higher and lower castes, and in the laws defining exogamy and endogamy in marriage. This framework enabled Indian society to categorize and include within this vertical hierarchy or exclude from it new and diverse ethnic groups, many of which formed separate sub-castes or were labelled out-castes.

In Southall, there is little evidence of adherence to laws

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(1) To label 'Varna' as caste is not entirely accurate. It is a typology, an ideal type which rarely reflects the reality of the social organisation at the local level. The local unit of differentiation is 'Jati'or 'Zaat' (literally meaning birth). These local systems of stratification are very numerous and vary from region to region and from one linguistic group to another. It should be noted that when inter-caste marriages are discussed in later chapters, the term will be used in the sense of 'Jati' and not 'Varna'.)

restricting commensality and physical contact between specified castes, but caste boundaries retain their importance in the area of marriage; indeed, inter-caste marriages are still quite rare. Further, caste continues to play a significant role as a status-ranking principle. Even the Asian teenagers growing up in Britain with their limited direct experience or knowledge of the status hierarchies which accompany caste differentiation in the sub-continent, are able to conceptualize these differences in some general notions of 'high' and 'low'. The growing salience of caste in Southall is also evidenced by the emergence, in the last few years, of several caste-based associations and temples. The precise way in which the institution of caste is adapting to the British context would seem to be a topic for future research. From the point of view of present research, the interest in caste is limited primarily to the attitudes of adolescents and their parents to inter-caste marriages.

2.1.1.2 The Advent of Islam in the Indian Sub-continent

The invasions following those of the Aryans, though quite numerous, were of short duration and did not transform the social structure on any large scale. For instance, the Scythians, the Yueh Chi and the Huns came between the first and the fifth century A.D. but their settlements were relatively small and in the course of time they lost their separate identity. The next six hundred years witnessed no major conquest until the Afghans and Turks led by Mahmud Ghazni raided and laid the foundations of Muslim rule in India which lasted from the 12th century onwards till the establishment of British rule in the 18th century.

Unlike their predecessors, the Muslims continued to adhere to their religion and much of their culture. Islamic influence on the Indian cultural life (e.g. religion, language, literature, arts - especially architecture, painting and music) was strong and pervasive, However, the social organisation and economic conditions of the Indian masses were only marginally modified. This was partly due to the fact that the number of Muslim invaders was not very large; it included the army, camp followers of the conquerors, small numbers of traders, some persecuted members from the original community, and a few learned men. The cultural heritage which they brought with them flourished mainly in the royal courts. Away from these centres of authority the social system continued to be governed primarily by principles embedded in Hinduism. The present-day Muslim populations of India and Pakistan may trace their descent, both to these 'foreigners' and to the indigenous Hindus who converted to Islam. It is worth noting, however, that religious conversion was only rarely accompanied by a complete renunciation of the previous way of life. As a consequence Islam in India came to be quite strongly influenced by the indigenous social forces. For instance, caste continued to play an important role in the day-to-day lives of ordinary Muslims, albeit in a modified form. Similarly certain traditional marriage customs and rules of inheritance were incorporated into those prescribed by Islam. Thus, Islam in the sub-continent came to acquire a distinct Indian flavour.

It will be evident from the foregoing that Muslim rule in India

was established through invasions which inevitably involved plunder and destruction. Partly because of this and partly because Islamic principles were quite fundamentally different from those embodied in Hinduism, the Muslim rulers and their followers were regarded with considerable antipathy by the Hindus, especially the upper-caste Hindus. The Hindus who converted to Islam were often drawn from the lower castes. Many were likely to embrace Islam in order to escape from caste inequality, but in this they were not fully rewarded since in due course caste came to exercise a fairly strong influence even over Islam.

As is often the case where religious affiliation and differences in status and power coincide, these earlier tensions between the Muslim rulers and their Hindu subjects became associated with an apparently intrinsic and almost indelible hostility between members of the two religious groups. Although quite complex socio-political and economic factors were subsequently involved in the structuring of the relationship between Hindus and Muslims, their import was lost on the general public which was likely to construe social difference primarily in religious terms. These perceptions have persisted into modern times and have acquired an added dimension since the partition of the sub-continent into three separate states, namely India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. While there is little evidence of overt tension in Southall between these religious groups, latent communal feelings are not unlikely to surface in certain contexts, as for instance when a young Hindu might wish to marry a Muslim and vice-versa.

2.1.1.3 Rise of Sikhism

Since over sixty per cent of the sample in the present study consists of Sikhs, it is important to consider some of the salient features associated with the history of Sikhism.

'Sikhi' or Sikhism originated in Punjab and developed as part of a larger 'Bhakti' movement, which advocated the path of 'Bhakti' or 'devotion'. The emphasis was on surrendering self in the service of God. This aim was to be achieved through active participation in society rather than by becoming a recluse or ascetic.

Guru Nanak (1469-1518), the founder of this movement was a Kshatriya by caste and was of rural origin. He obtained his education through the generosity of a Muslim friend and was later employed as a store-keeper in the Afghan administration. In his teachings he emphasized the essential unity of mankind, and stressed that there was only one God. He condemned idol worship, superstition, elaborate rituals and caste hierarchy. Although the ideas of Nanak were drawn both from Hindu and Muslim traditions, and his followers included both Hindus and Muslims, he was not attempting to offer an eclectic ideology. He conceived of God as an ever-present, formless, nameless principle which was represented within every individual. Unity with this principle was to be realized through 'devotion' and no priest was required as a mediator in this process. As would be expected, Nanak's denunciation of the priest's role made him unpopular with both the Hindu Brahamans and the Muslim Ulemas; they regarded his teachings as a direct threat to their privilaged position.

Unlike a majority of their contemporaries, Nanak and the other nine Sikh Gurus (Teachers) preached in the vernacular. Through the use of simple terminology and the avoidance of elaborate rituals, they were able to demystify religion and make it comprehensible to the ordinary people. This may have in part accounted for the popularity which Sikhism gained during this period among the Punjabi peasants. As the Sikhs gathered support, the egalitarian principles which they espoused were regarded as a threat by the upper-caste Hindus and the Muslim rulers alike. The subsequent persecution of the Sikhs by the Muslim rulers changed the nature of Sikhism from a religious to a socio-political movement. By the early seventeenth century Sikhs had begun to organise themselves into a militant brotherhood of crusaders. From then onwards the Sikh history is full of battles fought first against the Mughal rulers, and later against the British. This legacy of militant opposition to persecution coupled with the five emblems, prescribed for the Sikh by Guru Gobind Singh, (as for example the wearing of long hair and unshorn beard) have helped create a strong identity among the people of this faith. Due to this military background the Sikh men were regarded by the British as ideal recruits for the army.

Here too, as with Hindus and Muslims, these historical antagonisms between the state and an initially oppressed people who retaliated with militancy, tend to be interpreted by the people solely in terms of religious persecution of the Sikhs by the Muslims. In the area of inter-personal relations this type of perception has had the effect of rendering religious exogamy involving Hindus and Muslims or Sikhs and Muslims,

a most rigidly adhered to form of exogamy. Transgression of this boundary by young Asians in Britain, as elsewhere, is bound to elicit strong disapproval from their respective communities. In order to fully understand the emotional and psychological base of the Asian respondents' attitudes in this study to inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, these influences of history need to be appreciated.

2.1.1.4 Emigration from the Sub-continent

Like migration into the country, emigration from the Sub-continent is an ancient phenomenon. Tinker (1977) notes that the Buddhist pilgrims of ancient India ventured into remote corners of Central and Eastern Asia but in the main, these emigrations involved temporary visits abroad. He adds:

> "The Kingdoms of the eastern seaboard of South India - the Coromandel - built up strong connections with the islands of South East Asia. The Palas of Bengal were in contact with the Sailendra Kings of Indonesia. Then, in the eleventh century, the Cholas (Tamil princes) organized expeditions which vanquished the great Indonesian empire of Sri Vijaya. Yet none of these contacts led to a distinctive Indian Population overseas. Indian priests and officials married local women, and within a few generations were indistinguishable from local people. Even Bali, the most complete Hindu cultural colony, is no little India. Hindu culture has been transmuted into something authentically Balinese". (Tinker, 1977: 1)

Trade with East Africa, however, did lead to permanent settlements along the coast line. According to archeological evidence, commercial link with East Africa had existed for over a thousand years prior to the European advent in this part of the world (Ghai and Ghai, 1965; Tinker, 1977). In general, the mercantile castes of Western India concentrated on trade with countries to the West such as South and East Africa, Aden, places in the Persian Gulf and so on. Likewise,

traders from Eastern parts of the sub-continent extended their activities mainly Eastward to Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia and Mauritius. Although Vasco da Gama's discovery of the sea-route to India in 1498 augmented a new era in the history of the relationship between Europe and the Sub-continent, trade between them had begun long before this date. It is said that at one stage the Roman coffers were being rapidly depleted of gold in return for Indian silks. Until about the beginning of the eighteenth century, India was a major exporter of fine cotton and silk fabrics, spices, sugar, precious stones etc. It was renowned for its cottage crafts, especially that of jewellery making (Chand, 1970).

The major characteristic which distinguishes these early emigrations from those which followed during the eighteenth and nineteenth century is that they were voluntary in nature.

2.1.2 The Colonial Period

The nature of emigration from the Sub-continent changed radically during this period. Impetus for large scale emigration during the British Raj can be seen to stem largely from the policies of the colonial government. The Indian who now went abroad was less likely to be a merchant or a missionary than an indentured labourer. This phase of induced migration was later to be followed by an outflow of voluntary immigrants from the Sub-continent to these outposts of the British Empire.

2.1.2.1 Indentured labour

Following the abolition of slavery in 1834, the plantation colonies

were faced with a severe shortages of labour, and the planters turned to the East India Company for permission to recruit labour in the sub-continent. Once the permission had been secured, the planters offered their Indian agents lucrative commissions to recruit labour. In response to this monetary incentive, the agents worked hard to attract 'volunteers', and in their zeal were as likely to use fair as foul means. For instance, they would paint glowing pictures of opportunities abroad, and the recruits were often unaware of the life of semi-slavery which awaited them in these countries. As Hiro (1971) notes:

> "Little did the illiterate labourer realize that, by his thumb impression on a contract, he was committing himself to 'semi-slavery'; because the contract bound the labourer to a planter for five years under a small, fixed wage, with a further five years' labour under the same or any other planter on the island, before allowing him free passage home if he chose to return home". (Hiro, 1971: 100)

The practice of 'indenturing' labour from India was ended in 1916, but by then labourers had been transported to countries as far afield as Mauritius, Fiji, the West Indies, Ceylon, Malaya, Burma, South and East Africa.

When their contracts expired, some of the indentured labourers stayed on. They saved money, bought plots of land and generally began to establish themselves in these countries. Subsequently, as new opportunities opened up, they invited kin and friends to join them and gradually this led to voluntary migration flows from the Sub-continent to these various parts of the Empire.

2.1.2.2 Voluntary Immigration

The voluntary immigrants who followed the indentured Indian

labourers were mainly from Gujerat and Punjab. Both these areas have a traditior of migration.

As already noted, mercantile castes of Western India of which Gujerat is a part, have engaged in overseas trade for many centuries: when new opportunities opened up in different parts of the Empire, these enterprising people were willing and ready to migrate to these distant lands. Renowned for their business acumen, Gujeratis are nowadays to be found in most parts of the world.

In contrast to the Gujeratis, the Punjabis who migrated abroad were typically either skilled craftsmen or individuals from land-owning peasant families. A majority was Muslims or Sikhs rather than Hindus. Through centuries, Punjab has been the site of numerous battles fought between the invading armies and the indigenous people. As Hiro (1971) notes, Punjab has been a 'melting pot' of varied human stocks. Punjabis are a resilient people who have long since learnt the art of adapting to a new environment without losing their distinct identity. During the nineteenth century, vast areas of previously semi-desert land in Punjab were opened up by large-scale irrigation. These canal colonies attracted migrants from other parts of Punjab which were either relatively poor or where the pressure on land was high. Thus internal migration was also a familiar phenomenon of this period.

It is worth bearing in mind that in pre-British India there was no private ownership of land. Rural participation in money economy was minimal. The rights to hold and succeed to holdings were vested in a lineage and the land was worked by the joint family. Neither the lineage nor the joint family had the right to alienate the land (Asad, 1961).

The Permanent Settlement under the British endowed 'Zamindars' (landlords) with ownership of land. Hence, the traditional function of the village headman to collect and pay revenue to the state was transferred to the head of the joint family in whom the title to land was now vested. Land thus became a commodity; it could now be alienated, and at the death of the head of the family, it could be divided among his male heirs. Over generations, such partition of land resulted in increasingly small landholdings per family. When the family land could not support all its members, it became a common practice for the younger sons to join the army or migrate. Punjabis in general, but Sikh Punjabis in particular, were popular recruits for the army. At one stage, Sikhs apparently constituted 20 percent of the Indian Army (Tinker, 1977). Army service took these Punjabis abroad to other British colonies such as Singapor, Malaya and Hong Kong. They became aware of better opportunities for work in these lands and upon leaving the armed services, many joined the voluntary outflow of migration to these countries.

Once set in train, voluntary migration tended to build its own momentum as the early arrivals would sponsor other members of their family and village kin. The precise details of their experiences in these countries varied according to the local circumstances, but these migrants had one major characteristic in common: they were colonial subjects in these lands. The opportunities available to them were circumscribed by this fact. In some countries, as for instance in East Africa, they came to constitute the middle layer of what has come to be known as the 'colonial sandwich'; vis a vis the black populations they were in a privileged position but were subordinate to the white rulers.

This status differential between the colonizer and the colonized, as well as that between the different sections of the colonized had a crucial bearing on the degree and quality of inter-action between them. Some of the current stereotypes about the 'coloured' populations in Britain are in part related to this colonial encounter. It would seem worthwhile, therefore, to consider in the next section, another legacy of this period, namely the development of 'scientific racism'.

2.1.2.3. Scientific Racism

Views of groups other than ones own, embodying at least some negative attributes have probably existed since the emergence of human interaction itself. However, as Banton points out "'race' as it is known today is a relatively new idea. Only in the last two hundred years or so has an ideology of race claiming scientific validity been added to the rhetoric of national, economic, and social conflict" (Banton, 1967: 12). The publication in 1850 of Robert Knox's 'The Races of Men', he suggests, marks the beginning of a tradition of study of race which advanced the view that race determined culture. Although Knox's biologically based classification was not exclusively, or even primarily, concerned with peoples of dark skin, he said of them, 'I think there must be a physical and, consequently, a psychological inferiority in the dark races generally. Further removed from the Saxon race, the antipathy between these races is greater than that between any other: in each other they perceive their direct antagonists' (cited in Banton, 1967: 29). Knox's work, Banton notes, was very influential and was followed by the writings of Arthur de Gobineau, J.C. Nott, and G.R. Gliddon who argued in a similar

vein for the maintenance of 'pure races' which, they believed once existed. Gobineau's "belief in the supremacy of the nordic-Aryan race, and in the degeneracy of 'semitized' and 'nigridized' races was resurrected to bolster the doctrines of National Socialism in pre-war Germany" (Milner, 1975: 17). In America, Nott and Gliddon's writings seemed to have provided justification for slavery by offering 'scientific' explanations for the innate inferiority of the Negro. In 1859 Charles Darwin's 'On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life' was published. His view that animal and plant species were not fixed but evolved as a response to natural selection which enabled them to adapt to the environment quite readily lent itself to the notion of 'survival of the fittest' - a phrase coined by Herbert Spencer. The anthropologists and the sociologists of the two decades which followed were strongly influenced by social Darwinism.

> "Firstly, social Darwinists contended that whether or not pure races had ever existed in the past, they would exist in the future, because natural selection meant the emergence of specialized inter-breeding populations. Secondly, racial prejudice had an evolutionary function in causing members of one group to hate those of another and identify with their own, thus accelerating the process of race-building. This theory explained all that the previous one of Knox's had done. It provided a more sophisticated answer to questions about why Europeans had an advanced technology and Australian Aborigines did not; equally it claimed that racial antagonism was innate, but gave a more plausible reason for thinking it so. It was a better theory than that of the 1850's racists in that it commanded more and better supporting evidence; it claimed to account not only for differences between races, but also differences within them ... The theory contributed an important element to the ideology of late nineteenth and early twentieth century white imperialism and may have been partly responsible for the vicious streak apparent in it". (Banton, 1974: 33).

During the second decade of this century, the works of Robert E. Park,

Banton notes, shifted the focus from the biological nature of the category 'race' to 'race relations'. Park developed his formulations in the light of empirical data which his students collected. He and a number of other contributors to this tradition held the view that prejudice was not innate but was learnt during the process of socialization. At about the same time, racial attitudes began to be studied by the psychologists. It is worth noting that the emergence of the 'socialization' perspective did not altogether banish the unfavourable opinions of the 'coloured' people from the scientific and public opinion. For example, Floyd Allport, one of the 'fathers' of social psychology wrote:

> "Various investigators rate the intelligence of the full-blooded Negro as roughly between two-thirds and three-fourths of that of white race ... it is fairly well established, however, that the intelligence of the white race is of a more versatile and complex order than that of the black race. It is probably superior also to that of the red or yellow races". (Allport, 1924, as cited in Milner, 1975: 21).

In 1948 Oliver C. Cox drew attention to a hitherto neglected area. He argued that prejudice could not be studied in isolation from the mechanisms by which it becomes a means of justifying exploitation in capitalist society. However, the perspectives which dominated studies during the 1950s did not, in the main, derive from Cox's orientation. The extermination of millions of Jews during World War II produced an overwhelming interest among scholars, especially the psychologists, to attempt to explain the phenomenon of prejudice which was seen to be responsible in eliciting the cooperation of such a large number of ordinary people in committing those abominable acts. As these events were too horrific to allow an unproblematic attribution of normality

to the perpetrators of these acts, prejudice began to be seen as 'abnormal' and its determinants were consigned to the personality itself. This is perhaps best exemplified by referring to the fact that Adorno et al's study of the 'Authoritarian Personality' dominated the field during the 1950s (Milner). The critics of this approach argue that although the 'authoritarian personality' may well be more disposed towards internalizing prejudiced attitudes, this fact does not adequately account for the prevelance of such attitudes in large populations. They maintain that structures which transmit, support and utilize various forms of prejudice are not sufficiently acknowledged by this theory.

It is possible to argue that the influence of these theories was probably limited to the academic community, and, therefore, did not directly contribute to popular conceptions of race. This line of thought, however, would not be taking adequate cognizance of the fact that these scholars were located within the upper and, therefore, influencial rungs of society. Moreover, knowledge tends to be transmitted in complex ways through institutions such as schools, the family, and the work place, as well as through newspapers, travel accounts, books, public speeches by politicians or other orators, and more recently through television. The lay person may not be conversant with the intricacies of a particular scientific theory, but if certain elements of it prove to be of some utility, psychological or otherwise, to him or her in helping organise and understand his/her social environment, this person is quite likely to select these elements accordingly and incorporate them into his/her belief system. Poor workers in 19th

century Britain, for example, socialized into believing that they were inferior to the upper classes, would be unlikely to have been averse to views which suggested that they were at least superior to people of other 'races' which their own 'race' had conquered and colonized. Such a person's membership of a privileged group, Memi (1965) suggests, becomes a qualification independent of his/her merit or class. Scientific evidence it may be suggested may be translated into folk categories either by design or, as sometimes is the case, quite fortuitously.

> "It is clear that scientists are influenced by the social arrangements and climate of values around them, and their own ideologies, and that scientific theory consequently plays a role in sustaining those arrangements" (Milner, 1975: 15-16).

Thus scientific thought and popular images of society can be seen to be inter-related in a two way process, acting and reacting in relation to each other through the mediations of mass media and socialization processes both within and outside the home. It is via these mediators that generalized views which constitute 'public opinion' may crystallize.

In view of the fact that only a short period has lapsed since the Sub-continent obtained its independence from Britain, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the unfavourable views of black people which the 19th century scientific racism propagated will have some bearing on inter-ethnic perceptions in modern times. Certain generalized notions about the supposed inferiority of these people are bound to have been transmitted over the generations. These aspects may need to be borne in mind while considering the views, to be discussed in later chapters, which the respondents in the study were found to hold

of other ethnic groups.

2.1.3. The Post-colonial Period

A detailed consideration of the effects of the colonial rule on the Indian sub-continent and their implications for the post-colonial period are beyond the scope of this study. There are elements of the colonial link which even today continue to be the subject of controversy. For our purposes it is sufficient to recognise (and this has by now been well established) that the colonial system entailed a systematic exploitation of the colonies. By the time of decolonisation, these countries were largely impoverished, with a large labour force but few opportunities to make the labour force productive (Sivanandan, 1976).

In contrast to this situation in the ex-colonies the metropolitan countries of the west enjoyed a post World War II economic boom. They were faced with a chronic shortage of labour. In Britain, this shortage was partially filled by Europeans who came to Britain as refugees, prisoners of war, Ministry of Labour permit holders, as well as displaced workers recruited under the European Voluntary Scheme. However, the existence of the Aliens Acts dating back to the 19th century, ensured that serious restrictions were placed on any large scale importation of labour from Europe (Power & Hardman, 1976). In order to fill the remaining gap, Britain turned to its colonies and ex-colonies for labour. Prior to the introduction of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act, the supply of labour from these countries would seem to have been governed primarily by the forces of a free market economy.

Immigration from the Sub-continent to Britain on any significant scale is basically a post-war phenomenon. Prior to 1939, there was a twofold pattern of middle or upper class Indians who visited the country mainly in order to study, and seamen who stayed in the ports.

There have been three Asian members of the House of Commons: Dadabhai Naoroji, Liberal M.P. for Central Finsbury 1892-1895; Sir Mancherjee Merwanjee Bhownaggree, Conservative M.P. for Bethnal Green, 1895-1906; and Shapurji Saklatvala, Communist M.P. for North Battersea, 1924-1926 (Banton, 1973). Many of the seamen came from the coastal districts in the East, in what is now Bangladesh. Their stay in Britain was usually temporary, but during World War II many stayed on to work in British factories. Their numbers, however, were small.

During the 1950s and early 1960s, the expanding economy of Britain began to attract migrants from the Sub-continent and the West Indies in large numbers. In a period of full employment, it was inevitable that the indigenous worker moved into better-paid jobs, skilled apprenticeships and other training programmes. The 'coloured' immigrants therefore, came to occupy jobs which were largely unskilled, low-paid, hard, dirty, and were generally associated with a low status. As Robert Moore, writes:

> "Migrant workers are used largely to fill jobs that native workers will not do, because of their low wages or low esteem. And yet they are jobs which are essential to the maintenance of basic public services and which bolster up our consumer economy. Migrant workers operate much of Britain's public transport; they staff hospitals, clean schools, offices and public buildings; they work in catering, construction and productive industry. In the West Riding, for example, the introduction of new and expensive machinery into the woollen industry necessitated new kinds of shift working which were unacceptable to the traditional labour force of local women. The unacceptable shifts are now largely operated by Pakistanis directly recruited from Pakistan by the employers" (Moore, 1975: 7-8).

Also, since the opportunities for such work existed mainly in the already

overcrowded conurbations, these black workers came to occupy some of the worst housing. It is with this overall picture in mind, that the focus is now shifted to Southall itself.

2.2 The Southall Context

2.2.1 Pre-world War II Background

The influx into Southall of people from foreign lands is by no means a recent phenomenon. The Saxons were one of the first to leave a permanent mark on the area. The name 'Southall' is said to be of Saxon origin; it meant the South corner of a stretch of land.

The Saxon invaders were followed by the Danes and later on by the Normans. This period saw the evolution and the consolidation of the feudal system. Until the 19th century, the livelihood of the majority of the inhabitants of Southall depended on agriculture. Kirwan (1965) suggests that the farmers in the area were probably converted to christianity by the missionaries of St. Augustine in the 8th century. About this time parishes were marked out and Southall was made part of the 'Precinct' of Norwood which fell within the boundaries of the Parish of Hayes. Southall retained this identity until the Southall-Norwood Local Government District was established in 1891. Under the Local Government Act of 1894, the powers of the Local Government District were extended which led to the creation of the Urban District of Southall-Norwood.

It was not until 1936, however, that Southall became a municipal borough in the County of Middlesex. In April 1965, yet another reorganisation took place and the London Borough of Ealing incorporating the Boroughs

of Ealing, Acton and Southall was formed.

Southall began to lose its rural character during the late 17th century. The process would seem to have been initiated in 1698 when an influencial local family succeeded in obtaining a charter to hold a weekly market in the area; even today a market is still held on the same site. In the early stages the change was gradual but became quite rapid during the 19th century. The construction of the canal between Brentford and Uxbridge, the building of the railway in 1838-39, and the proximity of London have played a major role in the development of Southall into an industrial town. The opening of the canal, for instance, encouraged the establishment of several industries. Notable among these were a vitriol factory, a large flour mill, an ordnance depot, a brickyard and a small gas works (Kirwan). In 1893, a margarine factory was opened near the railway station. It attracted workforce from the local area as well as from the surrounding districts. Later on, other industries were introduced. By the 1950's the concentration of industry in the West London region was considered to be one of the densest in the Southern region. Growth of industry and the availability of good transport facilities were largely responsible for attracting mobile labour to the area. Prior to the Second World War, the Irish and the unemployed from South Wales and North England comprised the major source of outside labour; immediately after the war, sizeable Polish communities also grew up in the area.

During the 1930's Southall was hard hit by depression. Work was poorly paid and difficult to obtain. The economic situation did not

improve to any marked extent until after the Second World War.

2.2.2 The Post World War II Situation: the Arrival of the Asians

The reason generally given for the influx of Asians into Southall during the 1950s was the availability of work at a rubber reconditioning plant, the Woolf's rubber factory, in Hayes, very close to the border of Southall. Owing to the unpleasant working conditions and the need for shift work, the company found it difficult to recruit indigenous labour. The personnel officer at Woolf's had fought alongside Sikhs in the Middle East and had found them hard working and conscientious. He started a policy of hiring Sikhs. By 1965 three quarters of the factory's staff were Asians (Harrison, 1974). When Woolf began to employ Asian immigrants, other employers followed suit. Nowadays the radius within which the Asian residents of Southall work extends beyond the boundaries of Southall. It includes neighbouring areas such as Greenford, Hayes, and Brentford. The Heathrow Airport also attracts a substantial number of Asian workers.

2.2.2.2 The Growth of the Asian Settlement

During the early phase of migration, the men came alone. Their prime motive for migration was to improve their economic circumstances. They came with the idea of working here for a few years and after accumulating sufficient earnings, to return home. They were prepared to work long arduous shifts in order to make up for very low basic wages. Originally, the workers were not unionised. But during the early 1960's, the Indian Workers Association mounted a campaign of unionisation, and as a result many Asian workers became union members.

The first immigrant arrivals tended to settle in or near areas where suitable work was available. There was a natural tendency for the later arrivals to seek accommodation close to their countrymen. The overwhelming emphasis at this stage was on saving rather than on consumption. The savings tended to be variously utilized in supplementing the family income in the country of origin, sponsoring kinsmen, and meeting the expenditure of financing the passage to Britain of wives and children. The all-male household was a characteristic institution of this period. Since the individuals already settled here were obliged to provide accommodation to newly arrived kin until such time that the latter succeed in finding their own accommodation, over-crowding was common.

What is particularly interesting about this early phase of Asian migration into Britain is its striking resemblance to the patterns of migration from rural to urban centres of Britain during the Victorian era. During this period of industrialization employers found it convenient to recruit from the families of their local workers, and the factory tended to become a source of extended family unity. As the newly arrived young migrants from the over-populated countryside began to settle in a particular city, they would send for other kin from home:

> "Kin would be summoned from the countryside with reasonable assurance that jobs would be waiting for them. Kin would lodge the newcomers in their own houses while they broke into the industrial system" (Gillis, 1974: 58).

This similarity between job recruitment and settlement patterns during migration waves which are separated by more than a century would seem

to attest to the importance of economic conditions in shaping such patterns.

During the 1960s, the men who were sufficiently well settled began to send for their wives and children. The decision to bring the wives and children over to Britain necessitated further savings in order to buy a house. Many early migrants had encountered discrimination in obtaining rented accommodation, and this constituted an additional incentive to buy a house. However, the need for privacy and independence and the desire to avoid discrimination were not the only reasons why the early migrants placed such a high priority on the purchase of property. A majority of them originated from families with small landholdings. As Dhaya (1974) points out, this traditional bias for land ownership may account for the Asian migrant's predilection for real estate in Britain; a house was considered sound investment. Moreover, the Asian cultural norms required them to offer generous hospitality to kinsmen, fellow-villagers and friends. The Asian concept of hospitality is closely bound up with a system of mutual rights and obligations which are defined according to complex kinship rules. A typical obligation which these migrants had to fulfil was to lodge kin and friends until such time that the latter found suitable, separate accommodation. Such obligations rendered the need to buy a house even more pressing.

Since the early migrants did not envisage settling here permanently they sought cheap accommodation which would not require a large capital outlay. In Southall, this type of housing was located in the Hambrough Ward.

> "An additional factor as important as the employment opportunities provided by the rubber plant was the existence in Southall of an extensive pre-1914 estate of houses, the majority of which were owner-occupied. The property was relatively cheap and some owners were willing to sell at relatively high prices to Indians. The Indians were therefore able to establish a small community in this estate which corresponds with one of the five wards of the Borough, the Hamborough Ward. It is from these roots that the present community grew" (The report prepared by The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited, 1965: 7).

As the Asian migrants started to settle, the English residents began to move out of the area, selling their houses to other Asian buyers. The English residents were able also to bring pressure to bear on estate agents to exclude Asians from particular areas. As a consequence, certain pockets of Southall came to be occupied almost completely by the Asians, while others remained almost exclusively the preserve of the English.

The full-employment economy of the 1950s had ensured that in the employment sector there was little competition between the immigrant and the indigenous populations. But a different situation developed in housing. Even before the arrival of these immigrants, housing shortage and the attendant overcrowding was one of the most pressing problems facing Southall during the post war years. This problem was bound to be exacerbated since the availability of jobs in the area during this period would, in any event, have attracted labour from outside Southall. But due to the ethnic distinctiveness of the Asians, they came to be regarded by the indigenous population as an unfair source of competition for the limited housing stock. Thus some degree of tension between these ethnic groups began to build up right from the period of the early settlements.

With the advent of television, the post war period also saw a temporary decline in the popularity of the cinema. The local cinemas were beginning to lose business. When one of the cinemas was put on the market for sale, the Indian Workers Association, a community organisation, was able to amass enough capital to buy this cinema. In the beginning, both Asian and Western films were shown, but when the latter were found unable to attract sufficiently large audiences to make the venture economically viable, the practice was discontinued. As the demand for Asian films increased, the two remaining cinemas were also purchased by Asian entrepreneurs. Although these transactions were strictly the result of the conditions of a free market economy and the law of supply and demand, in time the Asian ownership of the cinemas came to be regarded with considerable hostility by the indigenous population.

By 1959-1960 a fairly large number of the male immigrants were well enough established in the area to be able to bring their families to join them. During the 1960s, as more and more families were re-united, the emphasis inevitably shifted from saving to planned spending on, for example, buying a house, furnishing the house, entertaining kin and friends and celebrating life-cycle rituals, such as marriage. With the kinship networks reconstituted in Britain life-cycle rituals and the various religious and other festivals began to be celebrated in style. These celebrations involved considerable expenditure. In addition, status competition between families led to the establishment of a trend towards conspicuous consumption. Also, as time passed the migrants, and especially their children became acquainted with the material status symbols of the indigenous populations. In fashion, for instance, the young Asians

were as vulnerable to the commercial pressures as their English counterparts, and made similar demands on their parents' financial resources. A major consequence of these changes as well as of the increase in the cost of living has been that a majority of the Asian families can nowadays ill aford to remit substantial sums to the country of origin. Indeed, a large number of families I spoke to indicated that it was difficult enough to meet the expenses of maintaining a family here, let alone remit money regularly to India or Pakistan. Even when financial contributions are solicited by the kin in the country of origin, such contributions are not possible without some considerable sacrifices here.

Over a period of time, as the numbers of earlier migrants were augmented by the arrival of newcomers, Asian-owned economic concerns became established in order to meet the special needs of the Asian populations. Grocery shops stocked with items specific to the Asian cuisine were the first to emerge. In time, as and when demand arose, such 'ethnic establishments', to borrow a term from Dhaya were followed by others such as butchers, drapers and tailors, cafes and restaurants, travel agents, cinemas, laundry and dry-cleaning businesses, book shops, stocking publications and newspapers from the sub-continent, importers and exporters, estate agents, driving schools, record shops, electrical goods dealers and so on. A parallel development of this period was the formation of religious and community welfare organisations.

These facilities continue to serve the Asian populations of not merely Southall but the whole of London and the surrounding areas. These flourishing businesses tend to give Southall a rather inflated aura of prosperity. Many of the families which set up in business during the early period of the Asian settlement have no doubt become significantly wealthy, but they are a small proportion of the total Asian population of Southall. These families have since diversified their enterprises

such that several different types of business concerns may now be owned by the same family. This trend seems to have led to a monopoly of ownership by a relatively small number of entrepreneurs. Nowadays competition is so keen that a new business undertaking in the area is a rather hazardous task for anyone but the experienced and the well-established who possess sufficient capital and other resources to be able to afford experimentation. The majority of the Asians work in factories in the nearby areas and at Heathrow Airport. In 1974, Paul Harrison wrote the following about the situation in Southall:

> "Economic pressures bear harder on Asians than on the English, because of low pay continued with higher expenses. The range of housing choice is more limited and they are more easily exploited. Rents of £22 a week for a three-bedroomed terrace house, or £7 a week for a single room are not uncommon. Asian landlords often evict families - either because they are on social security and the supplementary benefits officer may insist on rent books being provided, or because the landlord lives on the premises and needs more room for his own expanding family. Families are forced to split up into several smaller units. Tenants put up with exploitation to avoid feuding, with repercussions back in Asia. These housing problems make home ownership even more essential for Asians than for the English, and prices are no cheaper in Southall than elsewhere in Greater London. The price of many staple Asian foods has risen by 100 and 200 percent in the last year..." (Harris, 1974: 10).

There is little evidence to suggest that these pressures might have eased since then. On the contrary, the continuously rising cost of living would seem to point in the opposite direction.

2.2.3 Some Social Characteristics of the Populations in Southall

2.2.3.1 The Asians

The early migrants to the area were mainly Sikhs from the Indian sub-continent. A report by The Economist Intelligence Unit (1967)

indicated that approximately 90 percent of the Indian population of Southall in that year comprised Sikhs, a majority of whom came from the Hoshiarpur and Jullundur districts of Punjab. They were predominantly from the rural parts of the Punjab and belonged to the traditionally land-owning 'Jat' caste. The Pakistanis were largely from the Mirpur and Sylhet districts of un-divided Pakistan, and to a much lesser extent from Lahore.

Owing to the Africanisation policies of the Kenya government, Asians holding British passports began to arrive from Kenya during the middle 60's. Soon, however, their numbers were curtailed by the 1968 Immigration Act which removed right of entry of British passport holders unless they had at least one grandparent or parents born in Britain (Moore, 1975). Asians expelled by President Idi Amin of Uganda came to the area as refugees in Autumn 1972. These East African Asians were different from the earlier wave of migrants in that they were mainly, though not exclusively, of middle-class, urban background. Also, in contrast to the Punjabi speaking Sikhs who came earlier, a majority of the East African Asians was Gujerati Hindus, though Gujerati Muslims, Punjabi Muslims and Sikhs from the 'Ramgarhia' (artisan) caste were also represented in substantial numbers.

The present day Asian population of Southall is, therefore, strikingly heterogenous. It is differentiated according to country of origin prior to migration; religion; language; rural/urban and regional background in the country of origin; and social class position both in the country of origin and in Britain. The nature and extent of interaction between these sub-groups tends to be a function partly of tradition and custom and partly of the exigencies of the local context. For instance, caste

restrictions on commensality have proved difficult to practice in Britain. Provisions of separate canteens for different castes at the place of work would be rejected by employers not only on the grounds of expense involved but because such a step would be seen to transgress egalitarian principles on which British social democracy is based. Thus, this traditional custom stipulating that certain specified castes ought not to eat at the same table and from the same utensils, has had to be abandoned in Britain. It is worth bearing in mind that in East Africa, as indeed among certain sections of the Sub-continental society, this practice had been discontinued long before migration to Britain.

A majority of the Asians in Southall are employed as industrial workers, and at the place of work this fact tends to have a levelling effect on the status hierarchy deriving from the country of origin. A high caste Hindu, a Jat Sikh with substantial land to his name in Punjab, or a university graduate from the city of Lahore may all find themselves in a factory working alongside a member of the untouchable caste or an illiterate peasant who may own little or no land in the sub-continent. In this context they are all workers and status is defined primarily by their common location within the British class system and the valuation associated with their skin colour; there is a tendency on the part of their English work-mates, for instance, to label them all as 'Pakis' or 'Wogs'. According to my informants such cleavage along colour often serves to generate solidarity on the shop floor among different categories of Asians on the one hand, and among the various white ethnic groups (English, Irish, Welsh, Poles and so on) on the other.

It may be apparent from the foregoing that the position of Asians in Britain is characterised by status inconsistencies. These are often selectively manipulated in order to maximize self-esteem. For example, an Asian university lecturer with lower caste origins is able to emphasize his social class position in Britain over his lower caste-status. Similarly, an unskilled worker who may belong to one of the upper castes is likely to take greater cognizance of his caste-status than of the lower status associated with his class position in Britain. Expressions of such selective manipulations would seem to be more strongly apparent in the arena of their private lives than in any other. In this sphere, custom and tradition play a much greater role.

Most frequent and intimate socializing tends to take place within the kinship group. This is likely to be followed, in a decreasing order of intimacy, by contact with members of the same caste within one's own village or town, members of other castes and religions from one's own village and locality, persons from nearby villages, members of one's own linguistic group and region, persons from other regions and nationalities of the sub-continent and so on. It may be worth pointing out that quite often, membership of the same linguistic group may have a greater influence on the formation of friendships than religious background. This may be due in part to the fact that language is one of the most important ingredients of one's ethnicity. Thus for example, Punjabi Indians belonging to the Hindu and Sikh faith are ethnically more similar to Punjabi Muslims of Pakistan than to the Tamil speaking South Indians. In certain contexts, therefore, Punjabi ethnicity may be of greater importance to the individual than his/her national origins. In practice, of course, the actual composition of an individual's network of close associations is dependant upon the choice available within the constraints of the local situation. For example, one Sikh family I came across had a

large number of relations residing in Southall; accordingly much of the socializing occurred within this kinship network. Since this family was from East Africa, a majority of the non-kin families with whom it had associations were East African. In other cases, there were no relations living in Southall, and a few families had no kin in Britain. Such families were found to invest considerable time, expense and energy in visiting kin in other parts of the country, but at the same time they were more likely to make friends with neighbours or colleagues who may well have a different background from themselves. In yet other instances, families claimed that they deliberately tried to keep contact with kin at an acceptable minimum. They explained that they found intense socializing with kin too restricting. As would be expected, professional families were the ones most likely to have a social network extending beyond kin and fellow Asians. The following case-study of an Asian woman in her late 30's may serve to illustrate how the social network may be circumscribed by the local circumstances in Southall.

> Mrs. X is a Hindu from Uttar Pradesh, one of the central states of India. Her family is Brahmin by caste. She is literate in Hindi but has practically no English. Her husband was a teacher in India but is currently employed in a local factory. They live on a street where a majority of the houses are occupied by English families. She has three children and does not go out to work.
>
> On several occasions her white neighbours have refused to allow their children to play with her six year old son who often asks why English children will not play with him, and is it true that everybody in India is very poor because this is what English pupils in school sometimes say.
>
> She has two teenage children who due to the Ealing policy of dispersal are having to attend a school outside Southall. Since they are older, they are not bussed to this school but have to make

> their own way which involves a change of buses. When they first started to attend this school, they were beaten up on a few occasions by some English pupils. Her sixteen year old daughter, the more resilient of the two has learnt to cope with school, but her son has become very withdrawn. He refuses to go anywhere after school.
>
> As a consequence of these experiences she feels alienated from the English. At the same time, as an Uttar Pradeshi, she does not find it easy to communicate with other Asians who are likely to be either Punjabi or Gujerati, and she does not speak the language of either of these groups. Her comments about the 'dihati log' (villagers) in the area suggest that language is not the only barrier between her and some of her fellow Asians. There is a hint of snobbery in her comments which is related to her urban middle-class background in India. She appears embarrassed by the downward social mobility associated with their migration to Britain.
>
> She sounds very lonely and depressed as we talk. Her isolation would have been less acute if she or her husband had had some relations in Britain but they have none. She tells me that a little while ago she had come to a stage when she thought she might have a nervous breakdown. Fortunately for her, she came across information about English classes for Asian women in the area. She has started attending these classes three afternoons a week. Although she has not made close friends yet, she is at least able to get out of the house and be with other women. In the process she is learning to overcome the language and vis a vis some women, class barriers.

The above case study is atypical in that the woman's linguistic background made her a minority within a minority, but it does highlight how a variety of factors may combine to add a stressful dimension to the social reality experienced by the migrants to the area.

In general, the growth and development of the Asian communities in Southall may be identified by a process noted by Dhaya in Bradford and Birmingham, of fusion, in the early stages, of Asian immigrants with disparate backgrounds, followed at a later stage by fission and segmentation. That is, in the early period when the number of immigrants was small, the various ethnic/sectarian/national differences tended to be submerged.

In an alien land, the mere fact of having Sub-continental origins was sufficient to bring people together. However, as the families were re-united and the village-kin and/or other relevant social networks from the country of origin became reconstituted here, the different categories of Asians began to differentiate among themselves. It now became possible for a Sikh, for example, to define himself not merely in terms of his religious background but also whether he was a Jat by caste as opposed to being a Ramgarhia or Chamar; came to Southall direct from the sub-continent or via East Africa; had rural or urban background prior to migration; was a Malvai as compared with having migrated from Jullundur or Hoshiarpur district of Punjab etc. Similarly at another level of differentiation, say, for instance, that of ethnicity, this same Sikh may make a distinction between himself as a Punjabi and the Gujeratis, and so on. This process of segmentation would seem to be evidenced also by the emergence recently of several caste-based organisations. There are examples of several such organisations among the Gujeratis, and the Sikhs now have three Gurudwaras (temples) where the congregation may be distinguished primarily by caste. It is worth pointing out, however, that this type of caste-differentiation in Southall is rarely accompanied by the development of traditional patron-client relationships. This may be due in part to the absence among the various castes in Southall of economic interdependence of the type customary in rural parts of the Sub-continent.

In some respects, Southall may seem to resemble the mohallas

(neighbourhood) of the cities in the sub-continent. For instance, as in a mohalla, not everyone in Southall may claim to be linked by some fictitious genealogy, as may be the case in a village. Similarly, as a majority of the Asian families in Southall is neolocal, the kinship structures are relatively more fragmented than in the village and the young are growing up without the direct socialising influence of the extended family. Further, in the absence of economic interdependence among different occupational groups of the type customary in rural parts of the sub-continent, the traditional patron-client relationship rarely obtains here. In addition, life is considerably more private. As in the mohallas, the combined effect of these factors is to weaken some of the traditional forms of social control which operate in a village. The influence of the immediate family remains strong, however, and is reinforced by the presence of a relatively high concentration of Asians in the area. This influence acts as a cohesive force in maintaining continuity of cultural norms deriving from the social structure in the Sub-continent.

2.2.3.2 The English

Comments in this section arise mainly from informal discussions with community workers and interviews with English residents of Southall.

A woman in her forties who had lived in the area since birth informed me that when she was an adolescent girl Southall was a predominantly working class town, slightly overshadowed by the more affluent middle-class suburb of Ealing. It was a close-knit community and social control was stringent: "Most people lived and worked here. A lot of your

relatives were in Southall. Most people knew one another". Most of the social activities tended to be confined to Southall. As one respondent explained, "We wouldn't dream of going into Ealing when we were youngsters - right up till I was 21. We didn't spend our time in pubs. Sunday night it used to be the community centre. I don't have a clue what they do there now. Saturday we used to be at the Dominion cinema. That used to be a cinema for us, with a dance hall at the top which my aunty used to be the manageress of. Wednesday night was the Shackleton Hall night - that again was a dance hall".

During the 1930's Southall was hard hit by depression. There was not enough work, and the work when it could be obtained was not well enough paid, but there has apparently been a tradition of fierce pride with regard to skilled labour. Skilled occupations were highly valued and a skilled worker would rather remain unemployed than engage in unskilled work. There was thus a hierarchy of status within the working class community which was associated with occupational skill and ambition to succeed in life. The lower sections of the working class were not regarded as social equals by members belonging to the upper echelons or what has been termed the "respectable working class". I was told that nowadays if a white girl is seen going with an Asian or a West Indian boy, she is immediately categorized by the English residents as having origins in the lower sections of the working class; few white boys, apparently would have her as a girlfriend after that.

In present day Southall, this type of social differentiation has been superimposed by ethnic differentiation. This is nowhere more

strikingly examplified than in the type of clientele to be found in the various pubs in Southall. As one informant put it:

> "You don't find the white people going into the Victory. The Victory is for the Asians, the Black Dog is for the Jamaicans. We wouldn't dream of walking into the Victory or the Black Dog. That's just not on - we don't do that. We used to go to the White Swan - now it is mixed. We go to the White Hart over the bridge, which is ours and the George's is Irish. It's all segregated".

Further discussion revealed that the Asian clients who frequented the Victory were regarded by the English residents as being lower class whereas those which patronised the ethnically mixed White Hart were apparently representative of the upwardly mobile sections of the Asian population, 'not the general run', as one respondent explained.

Despite the social divisions among the various sections of the English population, Southall community, according to my informants, was always united when confronted by an external threat. There was solidarity among its members. For instance, if a local resident committed an offence and was arrested and taken to court, he/she was not ostracised. A community worker explained:

> "It was accepted that this sort of thing happened against authority. Oh, yes there has always been a feeling of 'Us against Authority' - that the rules were imposed from outside and pushed on to them. There was very much the element that Southall was the back end of Ealing. Southall residents would get angry, would resent it. It was a dig and it made them even more united".

When the Asians first began to settle in the area, the reaction of the English population was, perhaps, one of curiosity as is evidenced by comments of the following type:

> "I remember when the first coloured girl came into my school. We all clambered to be her friend because she was different. We had never seen a coloured person apart from Cleo Laine - her dad was from Clarence Street; he used to come to our door selling toys. He was the only coloured person we had over".

But when their numbers increased, the curiosity changed to a feeling

of defensiveness and resentment. The ordinary folk in Southall, as indeed the vast majority of immigrants themselves, were not aware of the socio-economic factors operating at the international level which contributed to the mass migration during the 1950s and 1960s of industrial workers from the poor countries to Western Europe. To the indigenous people of Southall, the migrants were people phenotypically and culturally different from themselves who had arrived to work in factories from countries which Britain had once ruled. They were aliens whose colonial past made them somehow less than their own social equals. In small numbers they were a curiosity, but in large numbers they began to constitute a threat. The locals began to close ranks against these outsiders with whom in any case their contact was minimal:

> "... then they all came in - it was a rush. 'Where did they come from?', my father used to say. They were here, and then the shops opened up".

> "In 1957, immigrants moved into two houses in Trinity road, within a month they were there like bees. Bidwell (Member of Parliament representing the area) used to live on Trinity Road and then moved out. Now he sucks up to them. During the Spanish Civil War we had Spanish kiddies brought over. Then Poles and Belgians came, and later on Americans had their air-base. There were a few knife fights then, but the trouble with the Indians is that they don't want to mix with us, don't want to learn our way. The Race Relations board is unfair - we are not covered by it. The Council, government are all ruled by them. We are being trodden down. I would disown my daughter if she went out with a coloured boy. Southall used to be an industrial town - a good working area".

It is evident from the above quotes that the old feeling of being persecuted by the powers-that-be who in the past were perceived as meteing out preferential treatment to the middle and upper classes is still there, but now the collusion is seen to be between them and the blacks. Although the statement that the council and government are ruled by the ethnic minorities is factually incorrect, it would nevertheless seem to indicate that the antipathy of the English population in Southall towards their Asian counterparts is at least in part related to a perceived

lack of control by the former over their own lives - to a sense of powerlessness.

Apart from the obvious difference of colour and what is generally subsumed under the term 'culture', as for example, language, religion and family life, the traditional working class community of Southall and the Asians differ also in their attitude to ownership of property and their patterns of socialising. Mention has already been made of the factors which would seem to account for the predilection of the Asians towards investment in property. In contrast, the major sections of the English working class in the area, according to my informants, did not have such traditional bias towards ownership of property; most of the property was rented. Thus, when the Asians began to buy up houses, often with financial assistance from other kin because the building societies in the early period of Asian settlement were reluctant to offer credit to Asians, the first feelings of 'being taken over' were kindled. One middle-aged woman informed me that the house in which her father had lived for 'umpteen years' was once offered to her father at a very reasonable price but he refused the offer because the acquisition of property, in his view, carried too much of a responsibility. She added:

> "Many houses in Southall at one time were offered for £300. Not many people bought them. English people in Southall say that Indians are crafty. They are not crafty - they are sensible - how else did they get all these houses and shops. We have been walking around with our eyes closed - all of a sudden all our shops are gone. If you ride through Southall at one or two o 'clock in the morning which I do fairly regularly, you'll see the Asian women waiting for buses to go out to the next shift. I mean, none of us would do it: dad works during the day, mum works, may be, all night or vice versa. The English people - we wouldn't work all night".

As regards differences in patterns of socialising, it is important to bear in mind that the Asians come from countries with warm climates where a major part of life is lived out-doors. Neighbours and friends visit one another at a frequent rate, often without prior warning, and are apt to lend and borrow items ranging from food to cultivation tools or a family car depending on the income bracket of the families concerned. Privacy, so highly valued in the West may be seen to be selfish and unsocial. Most social contacts in the case of women are crystallized in the home. An acquaintance with whom one wants to develop a relationship of friendship (a new neighbour almost invariably falls into this category) is soon invited into the home for tea or a meal, whereby the relationship is legitimized. An individual not invited into the home remains an outsider.

In contrast, my informants told me that greater part of socializing on the part of the English residents of Southall occurs outside the home in places such as pubs, community centres, or churches. Unlike their middle class counterparts, these residents rarely invite friends or relatives (barring very close relations such as a married daughter and her family) home for meals. Unanounced visiting from neighbours would be disapproved of and most families will feel embarassed to borrow, say sugar, from the neighbours. Such less obvious 'cultural differences' may have had as equal a bearing as the more apparent ones of language, religion etc., on the ways in which the English and the Asians came to regard each other. Thus it would seem that culture, colour, changing socio-economic conditions in the area, the material conditions of the working population, the demands of an industrial society which leaves little room for socialising etc. have all contributed to the social distance between the Asian and English communities in Southall.

2.2.4 Education

Before this chapter is concluded, some comments about some aspects of the educational system in the Borough would seem to be in order.

2.2.4.1 Dispersal System

As the Asian families in Southall became re-united, the numbers of Asian children in schools were correspondingly increased. In October 1963, Sir Edward Boyle, then Minister of Education, visited Beaconsfield Road School in the Old Hamborough Ward, the area with the highest concentration of Asians in Southall. In this particular school, the proportion of Asian pupils had risen to 60%, and the English parents lodged a complaint to the Minister. As a result of this meeting a policy of dispersal was suggested. It was based on the principle that the proportion of immigrants in any school should not be allowed to exceed 33%. The number in excess of that ratio were to be transported by coach to other schools. Due to the continued increase in the number of Asian children in Southall, the proportion was subsequently raised to 40%, the policy was adopted by the Southall Education Committee in 1963 and in 1965 when Southall became part of the London Borough of Ealing, it was continued by the new Authority (A report of the Education Committee of the Ealing International Friendship Council, 1968). Thus, by the time the Government circular 7/65 (14 June, 1965) was issued requesting local authorities to restrict the proportion of immigrants in each school, the schools in Southall had been operating this for two years.

From the beginning, the dispersal policy had its supporters as well as detractors. The supporters subscribed to the view that the immigrant child needed to be integrated into the schools with a majority of English children. At that time, this perspective was accepted not only

by the Local Authority and members of the majority culture, but also by the Indian Workers' Association. There was also the belief that the Asian children would acquire English language much more speedily in schools where English children constituted a majority. This view persisted despite some evidence from a study undertaken at Beaconsfield Road School in 1967, which indicated that the "quality of teaching and the opportunity for conversation in a 'free situation' are more important than whether or not the children are in a mixed class" (Godall, 1967 as cited in the Ealing International Friendship Council Report, 1968: 6). Parents of English children supported dispersal partly because they felt that their own children's education would suffer if the number of immigrants in the class was high. It was clear that from the beginning the presence of these pupils was considered to be a 'problem', which, it was envisaged, would disappear once the Asian children could speak English and become anglicised. There was a feeling that schools with a predominantly 'coloured' intake were somehow educationally, not merely socially, unacceptable.

The opposition to dispersal came from those who believed that there was nothing intrinsically undesirable about neighbourhood schools with a high proportion of ethnic minority pupils provided the local authority had the political will to ensure that adequate resources were channelled into these schools. They argued that to aim for integrated schooling without an integrated community was artificial, and that good community relations were more likely to obtain if members of the majority and minority populations were afforded opportunities to interact under conditions of social equality and mutual respect. Dispersal policy

has been criticised on other grounds as well. First, it is said to discriminate against ethnic minority children on the basis of the colour of their skin. No white children are bussed in or out of Southall. Whenever the question of transporting English children in the other direction to redress the balance has been raised, the authority has indicated that it has not got the legal power to transport children against their parents' wishes (Ealing International Friendship Council Report, 1968). Yet the same right, the critics of the policy argue, is being effectively denied to ethnic minority parents. Second, dispersal entails the bussing of children over long distances. The children have to make an earlier start in the morning (as early as 7 a.m. in some cases), and there is a later finish to their day. This results in extra physical stress. Further, dispersal children are often unable to take part in school activities outside school hours. Third, it has become apparent that dispersal does not necessarily aid 'integration', the principle on which the practice was initially justified. There is evidence that the dispersed children may remain as a separate group in the school. They may sometimes feel a deeper sense of isolation from their English counterparts because in addition to having a different culture and skin colour, they come from outside the catchment area of the school. They are, therefore, perceived as 'outsiders' not merely because of their ethnic minority status but also because they do not live in the locality. Moreover, friendships formed in school cannot, under these circumstances, be continued outside school. The situation was cogently summed up by a teacher who informed Paul Harris that

"they go as outsiders, they stay as outsiders, and they come back as outsiders". The location of schools at a distance from where the pupils live also means that the parental contact with schools is reduced.

Owing partly to the efforts of the anti-dispersal lobby but also because, despite bussing, the proportion of ethnic minority pupils in several Southall schools has far exceeded the 40% limit, Ealing council has agreed in principle to phase out bussing. However, since there is a chronic shortage of spare school places in Southall, the dispersal system is quite likely to continue for a long time. For example, Kogan (1975) noted that there were 3,000 more primary school age children than spare school places in Southall. He estimated that at least six new schools were needed in the area, but only one was being built. He also points out that some of the schools and class-rooms outside Southall to which the pupils were dispersed were built during the dispersal policy.

2.2.4.2 Special Provision for Teaching of English

In the early stages of Asian migration into Southall, a large majority of the Asian children entering the education system were either non-English speaking or had a very limited knowledge of the language. In order to provide specialist tuition to these pupils, Reception Classes were first introduced in the school year 1960/61. Due to the arrival during 1970/72 of East African Asians in substantial numbers, as well as the fact that not all children are able to get a place in a nursary school where they could get a headstart in learning English, the Reception Classes have been continued into the present decade.

According to the memorandum submitted by the Ealing Local Education Authority to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1972-73, most children are first admitted to the Educational Assessment Centre for a period of three weeks during which educational assessments are carried out. The Centre then recommends placement in either a Reception Class, an ordinary class, or an ordinary class with additional English. More recently, special Second Phase teaching of English as a second language has been introduced in schools with large numbers of ethnic minority pupils. This provision was available in the three secondary schools where the present research was conducted. The headmasters of these schools estimated that between 60-65 percent of their pupils were of Asian origin.

A Saturday School aimed primarily at ethnic minorities in need of help in basic language skills was first established voluntarily in 1970 by concerned teachers. The first classes were started at the premises of the Indian Workers Association for Asian mothers and their pre-school age children. Later, this scheme came to be adopted and financed by the local council. I made several visits to the Saturday School, which by now was being held at Beaconsfield Road School, and catering not merely for Asian women and pre-school age children but also for children attending primary and secondary schools in the area. The school was family and community orientated and as a result had a very relaxed atmosphere. Two of its founding members, both teachers in secondary schools in the area, observed that they were acutely aware of the relaxed

and confident manner in which their pupils behaved at this school compared with the normal school. In addition to English classes, mathematics, Punjabi and Hindi were also taught at the school. Among the resource materials at hand were books on the arts, literature, religions and history of the countries of origin of the pupils. In another part of the school, a small group of West Indian pupils would come and play some musical instruments. On a given Saturday, 30-40 Asian women attended classes in basic English, while their children played in a play-group supervised by volunteers.

Ealing's main provision for ethnic minorities in further and adult education is centred in Pathway Education Centre. The full-time course is aimed at students of 15-18 years of age who upon arrival have insufficient English to benefit from an advanced school or normal college course. Also, young people with special educational problems are referred by statutory bodies. Full-time course provision is also available to mature students referred by the Department of Employment. In addition, afternoon classes are held for Asian women, with play-groups for their pre-school age children. Pathway Industrial Language Training as well as the National Industrial Language Training Centre are also located at the same site. The main concern of these latter institutions is to provide English language courses on the employer's premises for non-English speaking employees, and management courses for industry. There is close liaison between all three institutions. The staff informed me that the demand for this type of provision in further and adult education far exceeds that which the Pathway Centre was then able to

provide.

2.2.4.3 The Secondary School Curriculum

Since an examination of curriculum change was not a major concern of this study, what is offered here are impressions based on observation and conversations with teachers and the heads of the three secondary schools in Southall.

In a strikingly forward-looking document entitled 'Race Relations and the High School Curriculum', which was submitted to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1972-1973, Ealing Community Relations Council outlined a statement of basic curricular requirements of schools in a multi-ethnic/cultural context as follows:

All school students need to study:

a) the basic facts of "race" - the nature of the minor physical differences between people and of the essential genetic unity of the human species.

b) a simple outline of the elementary history, geography and cultural (including religious) background of the countries which have contributed immigrants to the United Kingdom.

c) the specific economic and social factors - "push" and "pull" factors - which brought about the post-war immigration into the United Kingdom and into the other industrial countries of Europe.

d) the economic and social pressures and the factors in personal and group psychology which predispose to racial and cultural prejudice.

Minority group students need to have the opportunity to carry out (should they so desire) a detailed study of the land of their forefathers, in a course which would give them a firm grasp of the history, literature, language and economic circumstances which have shaped their family group.

A student should have facilities for a thorough study of his mother

tongue so that he may be able to write it and speak it well and be familiar with its literature. (Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Session 1972-73, Ealing: 363-364).

The document adds that the courses aimed primarily at the minority group students should, however, be open to any interested student of whatever origins.

My impressions would seem to suggest that although some worthwhile work has been undertaken in this field, it has in the main, been due more to the efforts of individual, dedicated teachers than as a result of a comprehensive programme developed through a systematic re-appraisal of the total curriculum. Thus, for instance, two teachers of English in one of the schools were very active in ensuring that the syllabus included selections from the literature of all the different ethnic groups represented in their school so that every pupil in the school would have sampled the kind of writing, whether poetry or prose, that is available in the various parts of the world. In another school, the sixth form were planning to take a community environmental studies course, which was planned to include inputs about the ethnic minorities in Southall. In the third school, the pupils in the second form normally undertook a humanities project which offered opportunities for a study of Africa, India, the Industrial Revolution, and so on. The headmaster of this school informed me that a geography teacher who had recently been on a visit to Tanzania had pointed out to him that some of the books used in the school contained information which was factually incorrect.

He added: 'I don't think we have done much towards it yet, but a lot of rethinking has to take place about text books, particularly those text books which give the English version of what happened in India or Africa". I came across such a version of history in a book on India which was being used in one of the other schools, in a class with an overwhelming majority of Asian pupils. The manner in which this book described the events which led to the so-called 'Black Hole of Calcutta' would have left every Asian pupil with an impression that his/her ancestors could not have been anything other than cruel and barbaric.

As regards the teaching of mother tongue, some progress was evident in all schools. In one school Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu as well as Gujrati were on the time-table; Hindi and Urdu were offered as an 'O' level subject. In the second school Hindi was being offered as a C.S.E. option, and in the third school, Hindi was available as a fourth year option.

Religious Education with its bias towards the Christian faith was one of the first subjects to come under pressure in Ealing. As a result, a multi-faith syllabus in Religious Education was used in all schools. Attempts were also being made to make the school assembly reflect the diversity of religions represented in the school population. However, the comments made to me by some Sikh girls in a school brought home the fact that the long-term utility of these efforts might be limited unless they were accompanied by some fundamental changes in society. One girl said: "The other day, we tried to put forward the Sikh view in the

assembly. We sang Shabads (Sikh Hymns), but the English children started laughing. We were so embarrassed. Why should they laugh at us. We don't laugh at them". Although the laughing on the part of the English pupils may have been partly as a reaction to hearing an unfamiliar form of singing, it was clear that the message which came across to these girls indicated to them that their culture was being devalued. The laughter would seem to have appeared to these girls to be symbolic of what, perhaps, went on in the school as part of the hidden curriculum.

The impression I gleaned was that the schools were more amenable to introducing into the curriculum areas of study listed in (b) of the document cited above, rather than those mentioned in (a), (c) and (d), and yet these are precisely the areas which need urgent consideration if some of the myths and stereotypes which abound in this field are to be dealt with.

Another point which ought to be mentioned before this section is brought to a close relates to the under-representation of members of ethnic minorities on bodies which are responsible for formulating local educational policies. A number of community workers and teachers referred to the under-representation of ethnic minorities on the governing bodies of the schools in which this research was undertaken, despite the fact that between 60-70 percent of the pupils attending these schools were of ethnic minority origin. The names on the list of nominations to the Educational Committee of the Borough for the period 1976/1977 included only two Asian names, out of a total of 40. The informants regarded this as a cause for concern.

We conclude this chapter with an overview of some of the demographic and socio-economic changes which have featured in the recent past of the London Borough of Ealing of which Southall is now a part.

2.2.5 Recent Demographic and Socio-economic Changes in the Borough of Ealing

Ealing Sample Census of Population, 1976 has identified some important demographic and socio-economic changes which have taken place during the period 1971/76. The Census was carried out during June 1976, a month before the fieldwork for this study was completed. As such it constitutes a timely and reliable source of information in this area of concern.

2.2.5.1 Population Trends

Overall

1. A steep fall in the birth rate after 1971, an increasingly ageing population and an increase in the number of 'New Commonwealth immigrants' mainly of Asian origin were the main trends that were forming Ealing's population in 1976.
2. There was a fall in the population between 1971 and 1976 of 2.8 percent which compares with a fall of over 5.5 percent throughout Greater London during the same period.
3. The population aged 60/65+ constituted 18.2% of Ealing's population compared to 15.9% in 1971. Overall, the number of children of school age (0-15 years) had fallen to 21.6% of the Borough's enumerated population compared to 22.6% in 1971.

Asian population trends

1. The Census estimates that in 1976 between 40,000 - 41,000 of Ealing's total population of 292,575 (i.e. between 13.67 and 14.01%)

were of Asian origin.

2. In Southall, out of a total population of 68,435, approximately 27,230 (i.e. 39.79%) were of Asian origin. This figure includes the number whose country of origin is listed as being East Africa (assuming of course, that a majority of these would probably be Asians), but excludes population enumerated under 'other Africa'.
3. Although a major concentration of Asians was still in Southall, there had, however, been a marked geographical dispersal from the initial concentration in Northcote Ward, first into Glebe, and later into Dormers Wells, Waxlow Manor and Elthorne. There had also been a subsequent movement out of the Borough to neighbouring boroughs like Brent as well as to the midlands and the north, after an initial period of stay in Southall.
4. According to the Census, all 'New Commonwealth immigrant' groups (read black) have a larger proportion of young people than the population as a whole. This trend was most pronounced among the West Indians in the Borough of whom 42% were aged under 15 years. The figures for the Asians are presented in the table below which is reproduced from the Census.

Table 5

The Age/Sex of Population Ethnic Groups in Comparison to Borough Total Population - 1976

	Borough Total	%	0-14	%
Male	140,090	48	30,060	10
Female	152,485	52	28,880	10
	292,575	100	58,940	20
	N.C. Asian	%	0-14	%
Male	17,500	52	6,135	18
Female	15,920	48	5,545	17
	33,420	100	11,680	35
	N.C. East African	%	0-14	%
Male	4,135	52	840	11
Female	3,850	48	845	11
	7,985	100	1,685	22

Source: Table 6. Ealing Sample Census of Population 1976

5. The Asian groups from the sub-continent had a higher proportion of children (35%) in 1976 compared with 33% in 1971. Further, the Census report indicates that the changes in composition of the Asian population over the period 1971-76 were the reverse of the overall trends in the Borough. Thus, for example, compared with the decline in the total population of the Borough, there was an increase in the Asian population. The Asian population was much younger than the Borough average and had a much lower proportion of elderly persons.

2.2.5.2 Trends in the Socio-economic Structure of the Population

1. According to the Census, the Borough's economically active population appeared to have become increasingly polarised, with a slightly greater proportion of both the Managerial/Professional groups (14% of the economically active population in 1976 compared with 13.4% in 1971) and a much greater proportion of the unskilled. In 1976 the unskilled manual group constituted 17% of the Borough's economically active population compared to just over 6% in 1971. The largest increases had occurred in Glebe and Northcote wards, with Dormers Wells, Elhorne and East also showing significant gains. The first three of these wards are part of Southall. In Northcote and Glebe where a majority of the Asian population is to be found, over 37% of the population were reported as being concentrated in this group. Non-manual, skilled-manual and semi-skilled workers all declined in the Borough between 1971 and 1976.
2. There had been a faster decline in the total number of jobs available locally since 1971 than in the economically active population, contributing to higher rates of unemployment. Two areas suffered distinct high unemployment rates: Southall and Acton.
3. As a convenient shorthand description, the Census report categorised the main problems facing the London Borough of Ealing as those of a) declining areas - meaning decline in a wide sense in terms of an ageing population, a growing unskilled population and lower level of economic activity and b) growth areas meaning overcrowding pressures on services and high level of economic activity. Southall

falls within the latter category, although, as already noted, the largest increase in unemployment and in the unskilled manual group were also found in this area.

As a policy guideline for Southall, the report recommends:

> "The overcrowded and 'growing' areas of the Southall wards of Northcote, Glebe, Dormers Wells with Central Ealing and Cleveland emerging as new areas of growth in the period 1971-76. The issues concerning Southall centre on whether a concerted set of policies should be developed to relieve overcrowding which appears to have increased in the period 1971-76. Direction of mortgages and assistance with purchasing for those very large families living in overcrowded conditions may be possible. Living conditions might be improved as part of an extended rehabilitation and renewal programme on H.A.A. lines which will help to preserve and improve the much needed smaller housing stock in the Borough. Perhaps an over-riding requirement is to keep the degree of occupation of dwellings within legal limits but this requires assistance from the occupiers and owners of the present overcrowded property. There is a great need in these areas for new jobs to add to the range of job opportunities that exist. In Southall with a marked increase in the immigrant population in the period since 1971 and the highest growth in the child and young working age population in the Borough - the possibility of undue unemployment into the 1980's must be faced. Growth in the very largely unskilled workforce of the area for which job opportunities are too few requires a reassessment of training needs as well as the development of a concerted strategy with neighbouring authorities and with agencies like the British Airports Authority to create a basis for employment growth" (My emphasis) (Ealing Sample Census of Population: 9).

Summary

This chapter began by considering those developments in the history of the sub-continent and its connection with Britain which have a relevance to an understanding of the social relations between the Asian and English ethnic groups in Southall. In this connection, it described (albeit in outline form) the crystallisation of the caste-hierarchy, the advent of Islam in the sub-continent, rise of Sikhism, emigrations from

the Sub-continent to other parts of the world during the pre-colonial period, emigration during the colonial period (outflows involving indentured labour as well as voluntary emigration which followed), development of scientific racism in Europe during the nineteenth century, and the modern, post World War wave of immigration into Britain.

The focus of the chapter then shifted to the Southall context. In this section, I described the pre- World War II background, outlining changes which led to the development of Southall from a rural area into an industrial town. This was followed by a consideration of the growth of the Asian settlement in Southall, some social characteristics of its Asian and English populations, particular features of the educational system which emerged in response to the arrival of Asians, and the changing demographic and socio-economic structures of Southall.

The aim of the chapter was to provide a background against which the findings of this study could be understood. This was felt necessary because every human encounter involves a personal and a group history. In the school, these histories are negotiated through the interactions between teachers and pupils and between pupils themselves. Both by what is included and what is excluded from this agenda, the histories are either validated or rejected, are valued or devalued. A similar process takes place within the home albeit in the context of a more personal and emotionally intense set of relationships. In order, therefore, to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the inter-generational and inter-ethnic perceptions and interactions, the everyday images of the respondents must, wherever possible, be understood in relation to the social context at the macro-level.

Chapter 4

Social Background Questionnaire Analysis: Some Further Details of the Main Adolescent Sample

Introduction

We have already seen in Chapter 2 that there are two parts to the questionnaire, namely the semantic differential and the social background questionnaire. This chapter describes further details of the main adolescent sample as derived from an analysis of the social background questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered to 374 pupils of whom 265 constitute the useable sample. The information presented in the following pages includes details concerning the respondents' age, sex, religion, place of birth, languages spoken at home, length of residence in Britain, parents' place of birth, rural/urban background, father's occupation in the country of origin as well as in Britain etc. It is anticipated that this information may help elucidate certain features of the world view of these adolescents.

4.1 Sex/Ethnic Group Membership of the Respondents

The initial aim was to obtain equal numbers of respondents in each of the sex/ethnic group cell. The table below shows that although short of the ideal, the useable sample is not far off the target.

Table 6

Size and Sex Composition of Ethnic Groups (n=265)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Asians	79	66	145
English	64	56	120

4.2 Categorization by Age

As noted in the previous chapter, a narrow age range among respondents was considered desirable so as to minimize the differences due to maturational

processes in the development of value systems among adolescents. This aim was substantially realized as can be seen from the following table.

Table 7

Age and Sex Composition

Age-group	Boys	Girls	Total	As % of total sample (n=265)
15 years	113	99	212	80.00
16 years	30	23	53	20.00

When the sample is further classified according to ethnic group, it appears that of the fifteen year age-group 49.06 per cent are Asians and 50.94 per cent are English. Among the sixteen year age-group, however, the Asians are more highly represented (77.36%) than the English (22.64%). For details see below.

Table 8A

Age and Sex Composition of Asians in the Sample

Age-group	Boys	Girls	Total	As % of that age-group
15 years (n=212)	56	48	104	49.06
16 years (n=53)	23	18	41	77.46

Table 8B

Age and Sex Composition of English in the Sample

Age-group	Boys	Girls	Total	As % of that age-group
15 years (n=212)	57	51	108	50.94
16 years (n=53)	7	5	12	22.64

4.3 Religious Background of the Respondents

The pupils were presented with a checklist of all the possible religions which might reasonably be expected to be represented among the

sample. However, no attempt was made to list the various denominations within a particular religion. This decision was made primarily because it was felt that if all the various denominations and sects were included, the question would be in danger of becoming inordinately long, and perhaps, somewhat confusing.

Table 9A

Religious background: ASIAN PUPILS

Religion	Boys (n=79)	Girls (n=66)	Total	As % of total Asians (n=145)
Buddhist	0	1	1	0.69
Christian	1	2	3	2.07
Hindu	21	14	35	24.14
Jew	0	0	0	0
Muslim	3	6	9	6.20
Sikh	50	42	92	63.45
Other	0	0	0	0
None	3	1	4	2.76
No info.	1	0	1	0.69

It is evident that the Asian sample consists predominatly of Sikhs (63.45%) followed by Hindus (24.14%) and Muslims (6.20%). As discussed earlier, during the early 1950s the Asian population of Southall consisted primarily of Sikhs. Latterly, however, especially since the arrival of East African Asians, this population has become ethnically quite heterogenous. The above proportions might reasonably be assumed to reflect a rough approximation of the overall picture of the religious mix of Asians in Southall. It is interesting to note that a small proportion of the respondents (2.76%) claim no allegiance to any particular religion.

Table 9B

Religious background : ENGLISH PUPILS

Religion	Boys (n=64)	Girls (n=56)	Total	As % of total English (n=120)
Buddhist	0	0	0	0
Christian	48	54	102	85.00
Hindu	0	0	0	0
Jew	1	0	1	0.83
Muslim	0	0	0	0
Sikh	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0
None	15	2	17	14.17
No info.	0	0	0	0

As might be expected,a very high proportion of the English respondents (85%) classified themselves as Christians. It would seem that with the exception of the one Jewish boy, all the remaining respondents did not adhere to the beliefs of any specific religion. More English than Asians (17 compared with 4), and within each ethnic group more boys than girls appear to have given this answer. The data above do not permit any conclusions regarding the way the category 'none' may have been interpreted by the respondents. We can not know, for instance, whether these individuals saw themselves as atheists,agnostics or as persons who were merely indifferent to religion.

4.4. Place of Birth

As in the previous section, the respondents were given a list of names of the possible countries from which they may have originated. Bangladesh was not included in the list since few Asians in Southall were

expected to have come from that part of the Sub-continent. In the event no one listed Bangladesh as their own or their parents' place of birth. A category 'other' was included so as to offer respondents from countries other than those in the checklist the opportunity to name the country of their birth. Fourteen persons utilized this category, and mentioned countries such as Fiji Islands, Singapore, Aden and Canada as their places of birth. The countries were listed in alphabetical order.

4.4.1 Asians

Table 10A

Place of Birth of Asian Pupils

	Boys (n=79)	Girls (n=66)	Total	As % of total Asians (n=145)
African	34	27	61	42.07
England	7	8	15	10.34
Eire	0	0	0	0.00
India	31	23	54	37.24
Northern Ireland	0	0	0	0.00
Pakistan	0	3	3	2.07
Scotland	0	0	0	0.00
West Indies	0	0	0	0.00
'Other' (Aden	1	0	1	0.69
(Fiji	2	0	2	1.38
(Singapore	4	5	9	6.21

It is evident that a majority of the Asian adolescents was born in Africa. This was a rather unexpected finding, especially since previous evidence had suggested that an overwhelming majority of the Asians in Southall had originated from the Indian sub-continent (The Economist Intelligence Unit Report, 1964). According to the Ealing Sample Census (1976), the pattern would not seem to have altered to any great extent. This document estimates

that approximately three quarters of the Asian population of Southall can still be said to have originated directly from the Sub-continent rather than from Africa. Given this fact the figures obtained from the social background questionnaire may be interpreted as indicating that a higher proportion of African-Asian families had children in the adolescent age-group. For the purposes of this study, however, it is significant that a higher proportion of adolescents (42.07%) came from Africa rather than the Sub-continent. The latter category comprises 37.24 per cent born in India and 2.07 per cent born in Pakistan. Only 10.34 per cent of the respondents were born in Britain.

The data on the parents' place of birth indicate that though the majority of the Asians adolescents was themselves born in Africa, their parents were mainly born in the Sub-continent.

Table 10 B

Parents' Place of Birth: ASIAN PUPILS

	Mothers	As % of total Asian (n=145)	Fathers	As % of total Asian (n=145)
Africa	22	15.17	19	13.10
England	0	0	1	0.69
Eire	0	0	0	0
India	110	75.86	115	79.31
Northern Ireland	1	0.69	0	0
Pakistan	7	4.83	6	4.14
Scotland	0	0	0	0
Wales	0	0	0	0
West Indies	0	0	0	0
Fiji	1	0.69	2	1.38
Singapore	1	0.69	0	0
* Other	2	1.38	1	0.69
No response	1	0.69	1	0.69

* These respondents had placed a tick against this category. They did not specify the country concerned.

It can be seen that approximately 81% of the pupils have mothers who were born in India or Pakistan; and 83% have fathers born in the Sub-continent. For a substantial proportion of the parents, therefore, the move to Britain entailed a second migration.

4.4.2 The English

Table 10C

Place of Birth of English Pupils

	Boys (n=64)	Girls (n=56)	Total	As % of total English (n=120)
England	60	55	115	95.83
Eire	1	0	1	0.83
Northern Ireland	1	0	1	0.83
'Other' (Scotland	1	0	1	0.83
'Other' (Canada	1	0	1	0.83
'Other' (Singapore	0	1	1	0.83

As would be expected a very high percentage (95.83) of the white respondents was born in England. Only three were born in other parts of Britain and a further three claimed countries other than Britain as their place of birth. The figures on the parents' place of birth reveal that 28 respondents have at least one parent born outside England compared with 6 who were themselves born in places other than England.

In view of the high proportion of adolescents born in England of English parentage, reference to these respondents as 'English' is probably justified.

Table 10D

Parents' Place of Birth: ENGLISH PUPILS

	Mother	As % of total English (n=120)	Father	As % of total English (n=120)
England	97	80.83	92	76.67
Eire	9	7.50	10	8.33
India	2	1.67	2	1.67
Northern Ireland	1	0.83	1	0.83
Scotland	3	2.50	5	4.17
Wales	3	2.50	2	1.67
West Indies	1	0.83	1	0.83
'Other' (Belgium	1	0.83	0	0.00
(Canada	0	0.00	1	0.83
(Channel Is.	0	0.00	1	0.83
(Hungary	0	0.00	1	0.83
(Poland	1	0.83	1	0.83
(Singapore	1	0.83	1	0.83
Country unspecified	1	0.83	1	0.83
No answer	0	0.00	1	0.83

4.5 Length of residence in Britain

In the case of Asian respondents, their length of residence in Britain and the number of years spent within the British education system may have a particular bearing on their social perceptions. With this in mind, the data reported below were gathered.

Table 11

(A) Asian Pupils' Length of Residence in Britain

No. of years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
No. of respondents*	7	1	10	6	10	10	15	18	13	15	6	8	8	4	3

(B) Asian Pupils Length of Attendance in English Schools

No. of years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
No. of respondents*	8	5	8	6	12	16	10	20	16	19	11	3	0	0	0

* Eleven pupils did not answer this question. Since the question began with ' If you were born outside England ....', and 15 Asian pupils were born in England, it may be assumed that the 11 who did not respond and the three who reported that they have lived in England for 15 years, were in fact born in this country.

It can be seen from above that 34 respondents have lived in England for five years or less. Further analysis showed that 22 of these relative new arrivals came from Africa, 5 from countries such as Singapore and the Islands, and only 5 from the Indian sub-continent. Since the respondents from Africa and countries such as Singapore are likely to have had an urban background prior to migrating, the move to Britain in their case must have involved a qualitatively different experience than in the case of respondents from the Sub-continent who may have been of a rural background and as such would have been exposed simultaneously to a process of urbanisation on the one hand, and adjustment to an alien culture on the other.

Individuals with length of residence of 6-9 years may be considered next. Fifty six respondents can be classified under this category; the proportion of Sub-continental Asians relative to those from Africa or other countries is fairly equal (27 vs 30). The remaining 55 have lived here for 10 years or more. In other words, a substantial proportion have had all their primary and secondary education in Britain. If eleven as the age of entry into secondary education is taken as the cut-off point, all respondents except the 34 in the first category would seen to have had all their secondary education and part of their primary education in England. Indeed, only 18 of the respondents can be termed 'teenage migrants', that is those who came to Britain at the age of 13 or more. Thus the influence of British institutions on the sample in the present study, at least to the extent that it may be related to the length of residence here, can be taken to be considerable.

4.6 Languages Spoken at Home

Another point of some interest with regard to the Asian adolescents is the language(s) spoken by them at home. It is sometimes suggested that Asians families tend to make an almost exclusive use of the mother tongue at home. However, just over half of the Asian respondents in the present study (73 persons) reported that they were bilinguals, that is they employed both the mother tongue as well as English in the home. It is likely that the mother tongue is used to converse with parents whereas English is used with siblings and friends.

Table 12

Languages Spoken at Home

	No. speaking one language only	No. speaking Mother tongue and English	No. speaking Mother tongue and English and other	No. speaking Mother tongue and other but no English
English	9			
Gujerati	8	4		1 (+ Swahili)
Hindi		2		
Punjabi	60	52	5 (+ Hindi)	
Urdu	2	1		
Others (Malayan)	1			

It is apparent from the above that 80.69 per cent (117 persons) of the sample is unequivocally Punjabi-speaking. It is also likely that some of the respondents claiming to use English only at home may have Punjabi backgrounds. As 62.45 per cent of the Asian sample is Sikh (and, therefore by implication, Punjabi), the figure of 80.69 per cent representing the Punjabi speakers would suggest that the remaining Punjabis may be of Hindu or Muslim faith.

It would be reasonable to assume that the nine who reported that they spoke only English at home may have been born in Britain. However, further analysis did not support this assumption; only two of these respondents were born in England, four in Africa, one in India, one in Pakistan and one in Singapore. Thus, factors other than the place of birth would seem to influence the selection of languages used in the home. The parents' knowledge of English, of course, is of fundamental importance in this connection. In their dealings with officialdom parents unfamiliar with English are often dependent upon their children for interpreting. Children may be called upon to act as interpreters in other situations as well,

such as when the family is watching television or goes shopping. The use of English in these homes is, therefore, excluded by the mere fact that some members of the family have little or no knowledge of the English language. On the other hand, an increasing number of educated parents who may be fluent in English and as such might be expected to promote the use of English in the home are in fact not doing so. This is primarily because they are becoming aware of the importance of language in the development of identity; knowledge of mother tongue, they feel, is an important facet of a positive ethnic identity. They are more likely, therefore, to channel their energies into teaching their children the mother tongue. Other parents may be equally concerned with the role of language in transmitting cultural values; mother tongue in this context tends to be regarded as being instrumental in maintaining cultural continuity. Thus a substantial proportion of the parents may be found making a conscious effort to speak mother tongue at home.

4.7 Rural/Urban Background of Parents Before Migration

The process of migration is rarely unaccompanied by problems. The precise nature of the problems faced by immigrants in the new country is dependent upon a multiplicity of factors related to their social position in the receiving country as well as in the country of origin. With regard to the Asians in Britain, their rural/urban background is one such relevant factor. For Asians with rural backgrounds, the process of migration entails encounters with not only a different culture but also an industrialized urban society. At least some of the stress experienced by them in their new situation may arise from the demands of an urban society. Asian adolescents who were child migrants to Britain or were born here may not themselves face such difficulties but would be likely to be affected by the stress experienced by their parents. Moreover, parents with rural backgrounds may tend to be more traditional than those from the urban centres

of the Sub-continent or Africa, and consequently may be less sympathetic to the influences of 'modernity' on their children. It was deemed important, therefore, to obtain information on this aspect. The adolescents were asked whether, prior to migration, their parents were living in a city, town or village. The results are as follows:

Table 13 A

Parents' Residence prior to Migration

	Asians	As % of total Asian (n=145)	English	As % of total English (n=120)
City	35	24.14	80	66.67
Town	44	30.34	37	30.83
Village	50	34.48	3	2.50
No. Information	16	11.04	0	0

When the number of city and town dwellers is combined the following emerges:

Table 13 B

Parents' urban/rural Background prior to Migration

	Asians	As % of total Asian (n=145)	English	As % of total Asian (n=120)
Urban	79	54.48	117	97.50
Rural	50	34.48	3	2.50
No answer	16	11.04	0	0

These figures show that the parents of just over half the Asian adolescents originate from urban areas. If the figure representing the number of respondents who actually answered this question (i.e. excluding the 16 who did not answer) is used as a base-line for computing the per cent figure, 61.04 per cent of the adolescents, according to this calculatio would seem to have parents with urban background. Not surprisingly an overwhelming majority of the English respondents is of urban background.

The data on the Asian adolescents were scrutinized further in the context of their countries of origin.

Table 13C

Parents' Prior Residence of African-Asian, Sub-Continental Asian and "Other" Asian Pupils

	African Asians	As % of African Asians (n=61)	Sub-Continental Asians	As % of Sub-Continental (n=57)
City	21	34.42	10	17.54
Town	20	32.79	18	31.58
Village	13	21.31	23	40.35
No information	7	11.48	6	10.53

	"Other"* Asians	(n=27)
City	4	14.82
Town	6	22.22
Village	14	51.85
No information	3	11.11

* The category "Other" includes the 15 born in England, 9 in Singapore 2 in Fiji, and 1 in Aden.

Again, when the number of respondents whose parents emigrated from towns and cities was combined, the following picture emerged.

Table 13D

Parents' Urban/Rural Residence of African-Asian, Sub-Continental Asian and "Other" Asian Pupils

	African Asians	As % of African Asians (n=61)	Sub-Continental Asians	As % of Sub-Continental Asians (n=57)
Urban	41	67.21	28	49.12
Rural	13	21.31	23	40.35
No information	7	11.48	6	10.53

	"Other" Asians	As % of "Other" Asians (n=27)
Urban	10	37.03
Rural	14	51.85
No information	3	11.11

In view of the fact that Asians in Africa were, in the main, city or town dwellers, it is interesting to note that a substantial minority (21.35%) of adolescents born in Africa have rural origins. On the other hand, Asians from the Sub-continent are often assumed to have emigrated from villages, yet in the present sample 49.12 per cent of the adolescents born in the Sub-continent have parents who prior to migration lived in urban areas. Assuming that the children lived with their parents, the former may also be assumed to be of urban origin. With regard to the category "Other", 9 of the 14 adolescents whose parents originate from rural areas were born in England and 5 in Singapore; from among the 10 whose parents have urban backgrounds, 5 were born in England, 2 in Singapore, 2 in Fiji and 1 in Aden.

In general, the analysis of these shows that parents of a

substantial majority (54,48%) of the 15-16 year olds in the present study have emigrated from towns or cities. Since the 5 Singaporians who reported that their parents came from rural areas may well have parents with a surburban rather than a rural background, the proportion of persons whose parents might have an urban background is likely to be slightly higher than the figure 54.48%.

4.8 Social Class

The importance of social class in shaping the life chances of individuals in an industrial society is by now well established. The experience of immigrants and their children in such a society are bound to be closely related to their position within its class structure. The last question in this part of the questionnaire was, therefore, directed at an assessment of the social class position of the adolescents. To this end, they were asked to state their father's occupation in Britain and wherever applicable, in the country of origin. Occupation by itself is of course, not a complete description of class condition. Westergaard and Resler (1975), for instance, argue that an analysis of 'the cleavages of economic position, power and associated chances in life' is fundamental to any understanding of class inequalities in modern Britain (p.2). It is apparent that the processes whereby power and privilege may be distributed in society are likely to be exceedingly more complex than a conception of class as summarized by reference to occupational position will suggest.

There is also the additional factor of how and where these divisions may be seen to fall by the people themselves: their perceived boundaries may not coincide with those which may describe their 'objective' class position. With regard to the Asians in Britain, the situation is further complicated by the fact that their social position in the country of origin is likely to have an important bearing on their perceptions of and responses

to their life chances in this country. These considerations lead one to be cautious about the way in which a relatively crude index of class condition such as occupation (and that too of father's alone) is utilized in a piece of research. In the present context it is being used merely to gain a general overall assessment of the relative position within the occupational structure of the Asian and English families from which the adolescents originate. Information concerned with father's occupation in Britain was classified according to the Registrar General of Occupations (1970). The following six categories were used:

I Professional, etc. occupations

II Intermediate occupations

III (n) Skilled occupations - non-manual

III (m) Skilled occupations - manual

IV Partly skilled occupations

V Unskilled occupations

According to this classification the following picture emerges:

Table 14 A

Social Class Composition of Ethnic Groups

Social class	Asians (n=145)	English(n=120)	Total (n=265)
I	0	2	2
II	9	11	20
III(n)	16	9	25
III(m)	53	61	114
IV	36	20	56
V	6	1	7
Unemployed	10	0	10
Dead or retired	5	7	12
No information	10	9	19
Economically active	120	104	224

If the above figures are presented as percent of the economically active members within each ethnic group, the values obtained are as follows:

Table 14 B

The Proportion of Asians and English Fathers in Each Social Class Category Expressed as Percent of the Economically Active Fathers Within Each Ethnic Group

Social Class	Asians(n=120)	English(n=104)	Total (n=224)
I	0.00	1.92	0.89
II	7.50	10.58	8.93
III(n)	13.33	8.65	11.16
III(m)	44.17	58.65	50.89
IV	30.00	19.23	25.00
V	5.00	0.96	3.13

Further when persons engaged in non-manual work are distinguished from those in manual occupation by separately combining their numbers in social classes I-IIIn and IIIm-V respectively, the following pictures emerges:

Table 14 C

Manual & Non-manual Occupations of Economically Active Asian and English Fathers

Social class	Asians (n=120)	English(n=104)	Total(n=224)
Non-manual (I-IIIn)	25 (20.83%)	22 (21.15%)	47 (20.98%)
Manual (IIIm-V)	95 (79.17%)	82 (78.85%)	177 (79.02%)
with d.f. = 1, x^2 = .003 (n.s.)			

The overall picture apparent from the above tables is one in which an overwhelming majority of the adolescents from both ethnic groups have fathers employed in manual occupations. The largest proportion of these are concentrated in Social Class III(m) (Asians= 44.17%;English =58.65% see table 14B). With regard to the Asians, a substantial number (30%) are

also located within Social Class IV. The data would seem to support the general view that Southall is, in the main, a working class area. A chi-square test showed that there is no significant difference between working Asians and English parents in terms of manual and non-manual employment (Table 14C). However, overall Asians compared with English appear to be under-represented in Social Class I, II and IIIm but over-represented in IIIn, IV and V (Table 14A and 14B). The difference is most striking vis-a-vis categories IV and V; twice as many Asian as English parents (42 compared with 21) are employed in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Further, 10 out of the 120 economically active Asians were unemployed whereas none of the English was.

In order to identify any possible differences in employment patterns among the parents of African-Asian as compared with the Sub-continental Asian pupils information obtained from these categories was separately examined.

Table 15A

Social Class Differences Among the African-Asian, Sub-Continental and 'Other' Asian Pupils

Social Class	African-Asians (n=61)	Sub-Continentals (n=57)	Others* (n=27)
I	0	0	0
II	2	7	0
IIIn	10	6	0
IIIm	23	21	9
IV	9	15	12
V	1	2	3
Unemployed	8	2	0
Dead, retired	4	1	0
No information	4	3	3
Economically active	45	51	24

* The category 'Other' refers to 15 adolescents born in England, 9 in Singapore, 2 in Fiji and 1 in Aden. It is not possible to identify from the data available whether the fathers of the 15 born in England came to England directly from the Sub-continent or whether they arrived here from other parts of the world.

The table above shows that despite their relatively privileged socio-economic position in many parts of Africa prior to migration, Asian fathers from that continent do not appear to have secured any significant advantage over their counterparts from the Sub-continent vis-a-vis the employment structure in Britain. Indeed, more African-Asians are unemployed and fewer are located in social class II. Further, though a smaller proportion of them are engaged in semi-skilled work (10 compared with 17 Sub-continentals in social class IV and V), there is no significant difference between them and the Sub-continentals in terms of their number in manual and non-manual employment (see table below).

Table 15B

Manual and Non-Manual Occupations of Economically Active Fathers of African-Asian and Sub-Continental Pupils

	African-Asians (n=45)	Sub-Continentals (n=51)	Total (n=96)
Non Manual	12	13	23
Manual	33	38	71

with d.f. = 1, x^2 = .017 (n.s.)

We have already noted that due to insufficient information the 15 adolescents born in England could not be classified into either of the two Asian categories discussed above. It may, therefore, be argued that if the parents of these adolescents were mainly from one occupational category rather than the other, their scatter within manual and non-manual occupations may alte the results presented above. With this in view, the background data on these 15 respondents were closely scrutinized. It was found that the parents

of all 15 were engaged in manual occupations.With regard to the parents' place of birth,one girl had stated that her parents were born in a country other than those on the list, that is she had ticked the category 'other' without specifying the country concerned. The father of a second respondent was born in England. The remaining 13 stated that both their parents were born in the Sub-continent, and these 13 sets of parents may well have come to Britain directly from the Sub-continent rather than via Africa. However, even if this were the case such that the number of Sub-continentals in manual occupations would total 51 rather than 38 as in the above table, the value of chi square obtained would still not attain significance (d.f. =1, x^2 = 0.60, n.s.).

We may therefore conclude that the Asians from Africa and those from the Sub-continent are similarly placed within the occupational structure of West London. This, perhaps, should not be a cause for surprise for the following reasons. First, the particular combination of factors which accounted for the relatively privileged socio-economic position of Asians in Africa does not obtain in Britain. Secondly, their arrival in Britain has coincided with a declining economy such that any advantage they may have had over Asians from the Sub-continent in terms of skills is probably nullified. Thirdly, to the extent that discrimination in employment may be related to colour prejudice, the two groups are similarly affected. Fourthly, information on father's occupation in the country of origin suggests that prior to migration parents from the Sub-continent were engaged in occupations which, even where different from those of their African counterparts, would not place them at any significant disadvantage vis-a-vis the latter. For example while fewer Sub-continental parents owned businesses in Pakistan or India (&compared with 19 African-Asians),

a larger proportion of them were in professional occupations (12 compared with 4 African-Asians). Indeed, Asian businessmen from Africa would need capital to set up new businesses in Britain, and there may be difficultiies in the way of accumulating sufficient capital for this purpose within the relatively short period they have been in Britain.

Data on father's occupation in the country of origin were collected with the intention of identifying possible patterns of social mobility consequent upon migration. In practice this task proved extremely difficult due mainly to the differing occupational hierarchies prevalent in Britain, the Indian sub-continent and Africa. For example, the occupational status of a Sikh carpenter in these three countries differs considerably. His status in a Punjabi village is likely to be more closely related to his caste position than his occupational skill. He would be bound by a client-patron relationship to the higher castes which he serves. In East Africa, this same person would not be economically dependent upon any particular caste, and factors such as education and wealth would be more central than caste in defining his status within the Asian community. In Britain his status as a skilled worker within an industrial occupational structure may take precedence over other variables. The task of identifying any downward or upward social mobility on the part of a majority of the respondents had, therefore to be abandoned.

The professional group may be a notable exception in that, at a general level, the professions tend to be ascribed relatively similar socio-economic status in the three parts of the world that we are dealing with. The occupations in the country of origin of the professional persons were, therefore, compared with the types of jobs they hold in Britain.

Table 16

The Occupation in Country of Origin and in Britain of Asian Fathers who Occupied Professional Posts in the Home Country

Occupation in country of origin	Occupation in Britain
Teachers (9)	Teachers (2); Van driver (1); Clerk (1); Travel agent (1); Factory Worker (1); Cable Tester (1); Unemployed(1 no information (1).
Headmaster (1)	Works in a manufacturing firm
Engineer (2)	Engineer (1); No information(1
Gov't Agricultural Inspector	Excutive officer in D.H.S.S.
Army Officer	Window maker
Manager in a steel corporation	Businessman
College Principal	Deceased

The above table shows that out of the 9 teachers only 2 are still employed as teachers. One of the two engineers appears to have secured an equivalent post in Britain as has the Agricultural Inspector. The Army Officer is now employed in skilled manual work. With regard to the manager in the Steel Firm, it is difficult to assess his motivation for going into business. The decision may have been taken because he was unable to find a job commensurate with his qualifications and previous experience but equally he may have undertaken a business venture from choice. In any event, the data indicate that out of the 14 economically active, professional persons (unemployed = 1; deceased = 1), only 4 are still employed in the professions which they were trained for. Among this group of Asians.therefore, the evidence of downward social mobility is quite striking [illegible] absence of any additional information about these fathers [illegible] se, not easy to give any straight forward explanation for [illegible]nward social mobility. It is likely that a complex of factors rather [illegible]nan one single factor might be responsible for creating this situation.

It would be reasonable to assume, however, that racial discrimination might be one such factor, and in the case of teachers, difficulties of obtaining recognition for qualifications and training received overseas might be another.

Summary

On the basis of the evidence considered in this chapter, the characteristics of the main adolescent sample may be summarized as follows:

(i) A very large majority (80%) of the boys and girls in the present study is fifteen years of age. The sixteen year olds were mainly Asian (41 out of a total of 53 in this age-group).

(ii) A little less than two thirds of the Asians (63.45%) are Sikhs; 24.14 per cent are Hindus and 6.20 per cent are Muslims. An overwhelming majority of the English, on the other hand is Christians (85.00%).

(iii) Information on place of birth shows that 42.07 per cent of the Asians were born in Africa, 37.24 per cent in India, 2.07 per cent in Pakistan and 10.34 per cent in England. The remainder of the sample listed countries such as Singapore as their place of birth. An overwhelming majority of the white respondents (95.83%) on the other hand, was born in England.

(IV) Data on the length of residence in Britain indicate that over two thirds of the Asians (76.55%) have received all their secondary education and part of their primary education in Britain.

(V) Reports of Asian adolescents on the particular Asian languages spoken at home suggest that at least 80.69 per cent of them are Punjabi-speaking . Further, just a little over half of the Asians (50.35 per cent) use English as well as mother tongue at home, and 9 persons seemingly use only English.

(vi) With regard to rural/urban background, 54.48 of the Asian adolescents reported that their parents, prior to migration, were residents in a city or town, 34.48 per cent stated that their parents came from a village, and 11.04% gave no answer. As would be expected 97.5 per cent of the English parents are urbanites.

(vii) Analysis of social class background shows that parents of both Asian and English respondents are mainly in manual employment; 79.17 per cent of the Asians are manual workers as are 78.85 per cent of the English. Moreover, the largest proportion of each ethnic group is found to be in skilled manual occupations (social class III(m). However more Asians are engaged in semi-skilled jobs (social class IV and V) than their English counterparts (42 Asians compared with 21 English). Further, there was evidence of downward social mobility upon migration to Britain among the only group of Asians for which this type of analysis was feasible, namely parents who were in professional occupations in the country of origin.

The next Chapter concerns the findings of the second part of the questionnaire which as we have already noted, was in form of a semantic differential.

Chapter 5

Semantic Differential Analysis

Introduction

The semantic differential technique was discussed at some length in chapter 2. Its major premise is that human judgements may be explained in terms of a relatively small set of orthogonal (independent and uncorrelated) factors or dimensions. It is a flexible technique in that it allows for the entities and constructs to be varied to fit a particular research interest. The semantic differential used in this study consists of 20 entities and 21 constructs. The entities comprise facets of self and two broad generation categories, namely the respondents' own age-group and the adult generation including parents and teachers (see Appendix I). Nineteen out of the 21 pairs of bi-polar constructs were selected on the basis of their relevance to the subject at hand. Details of the selection procedure may be found in chapter 2. The remaining two pairs have been used by many researchers including Osgood et al (1957) and have consistently shown high loadings on the 'evaluative factor'. As previously noted, the constructs may be classified into five broad categories: (1) constructs which specify relationships between parents and children; (2) those concerned with marital relationships; (3) those reflecting the modern as compared with the traditional outlook; (4) those dealing with individualism and freedom, and finally (5) those related to personal convictions or conduct. The data were factor-analysed using these constructs as variables and each subject-entity as a case providing the observations on the variables. This chapter discusses the results of the factor analysis.

5.1 Factor Analysis

The main aim of factor analysis is to order and simplify correlations between related variables. It identifies patterned relationships in the

data and groups them accordingly into a small number of 'factors'; variables with a great deal in common denote a common 'factor'. Factor analysis, according to Cattell (1952) is applicable not only in respect of whether a change in one variable is associated with a change in another but also in the degree of the association. It groups the essential wholes among the influences at work. The early development and refinement of factor methods was mainly the work of psychologists but many other fields have since used this mode of analysis (Cattel, 1950; Child, 1970; Harman, 1960; Rummel, 1970). Rummel (1970) notes that a major criticism of factor analysis has been that the data must have an underlying multivariate normal frequency distribution, or at least must be measured on an interval scale. A multivariate normal, or near multivariate normal distribution, according to him, is required only when tests of statistical significance are applied to the factor analysis. As there was no basis for assuming a normal distribution in the present study, no tests of statistical significance were applied to the factor analysis.

Investigators using factor analysis are also often taken to task for evincing a tendency to read too much into a correlation coefficient. Causal relations are sometimes inferred from correlations alone. As Child has suggested,

> "the greatest danger lies in reifying the factors as if they were tangible attributes possessed in some quantity by everyone ... consequently, it is important to avoid the circularity resulting from the use of factors as the only source of validation. Some external criteria are essential for substantiating factor content" (Child, 1970: 9).

In-depth interviews with boys and girls a couple of months after they had completed the questionnaire may provide one such external criterion in this study.

5.1.1 Factoring Procedure

The factoring model employed was that of principal components analysis. Thus no assumptions were made that variance in a variable can be divided into common and unique variance; rather all the data variance was analysed. Accordingly, the diagonal elements of the correlation matrix were left at unity rather than being replaced by communality estimates. The 21 constructs comprised the variables and the values of each of these constructs obtained from each respondent's rating of the construct on each of a defined set of entities constitute the data observations. The principal components were extracted and those with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 were retained for rotation, i.e. those factors, which explained as much, or more, of the total variance than would a single variable in the raw model. In most analyses this left four main factors. Subsequently orthogonal varimax rotation was performed on these factors. The particular program used was BMDØ8M, the factor analysis program included in the Biomedical statistical research package developed at the University of California, Los Angeles. Data from the following sub-populations of respondents from the sample were separately subjected to factor analysis.

1. Total Sample (n=265)
2. All Asians (n=145)
3. All English (n=120)
4. All boys (n=143)
5. All girls (n=122)
6. Asian girls (n=66)
7. Asian boys (n=79)
8. English girls (n=56)
9. English boys (n=64)
10. African-Asians (n=61)
11. Sub-continental Asians (n=57)

In addition, factor scores for each entity were computed, and their means and medians obtained for all the various sub-populations within each population and sub-population. There was, in fact, very little difference between the means and the medians for the factor scores within any group.

Perception of entities as deduced from these factor scores will be the subject of the next chapter. In this chapter, we shall confine our discussions to the factor structures obtained for the various groups of respondents noted above.

Results

5.2 Factor Analysis of Constructs for the Total Sample

Here the aim was to identify the factor structure of the total sample as a group irrespective of the ethnic background or sex of the respondents. The underlying assumption is that the respondents' membership of a particular age-group attending the same form in schools located in a predominantly working class area with a relatively high concentration of Asians would generate some degree of shared influences and experiences. This common denominator of certain shared influences and experiences, it was hoped, would shape and yield a factor structure which might be regarded as being valid for these adolescents qua adolescents, despite the ethnic or sex differences which might have existed. These differences were to be examined later by studying factors obtained separately for each of the ethnic and sex categories.

This analysis yielded four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00. These accounted for no more than 47.2 per cent of the total variance. Further, the values for the remaining factors taper off only gradually, indicating, perhaps, that a more complex factor structure than that suggested by the four factors may operate among these adolescents. In the interest of clarity, each of these factors will be considered separately. In the main, constructs with loading values of 0.35 and above are presented, except in a small number of cases where those with values below 0.35 but above 0.30 were included primarily in order to highlight a point of comparison between factors obtained from two separate sectors of the total

sample (e.g. those obtained from the English and Asians). According to Child (1970), the figure of 0.30 constitutes a fairly reliable cut-off point, provided the sample is not too small (n=50 at least). The figure of 0.35 employed here is an arbitrary cut-off point. However, it was found to provide a satisfactory aid for interpreting the factors; it helped identify patterns which appeared to "make sense" - i.e. they were consistent with what might be expected of data obtained from the ethnic groups represented in the sample. For the sake of consistency and also in order to provide the reader with as much information about the factors as was feasible, this cut-off point was used even in those instances where a higher cut-off point would have sufficed.

Factor I

Table 17

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor I

Variable		Loading
17.	Would take good care of their children/ Would neglect their children	-0.699
19.	Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	0.676
20.	Fair/Unfair	-0.652
21.	Do not trust their children/Trust their children	0.627
5.	Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	-0.622
12.	Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their parents when they grow old	0.616
15.	Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	-0.583
2.	Dirty/Clean	-0.537
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	-0.499
1.	Would take notice of what their parents think/ Would not take notice of what -their parents think	-0.459
	Percentage variance = 22.27	

It is apparent that Factor I is mainly concerned with familial responsibility and general behaviour. High factor scores on this factor would be associated with a responsible attitude towards family obligations whereas low scores would reflect a tendency to neglect such responsibility. This factor may be labelled as 'familial responsibility factor'.

Factor II

Table 18

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor II

Variable		Loading
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	-0.671
11.	Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	-0.639
18.	Independent/Not independent	-0.599
9.	Thinks wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Thinks wives should obey their husbands	-0.529
7.	Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	-0.528
9.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Likes the new ways	0.379
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	-0.378
	Percentage of variance = 14.11	

Factor II would seem to denote an independent and individualistic orientation and may be termed as an 'individualism and independence' factor.

Factor III

Table 19

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor III

Variable		Loading
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	-0.711
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	-0.674
8.	Old fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	-0.371
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	0.353
	Percentage variance = 5.93	

It is apparent that Factor III reflects a cosmopolitan versus provincial outlook. It may be labelled the 'cosmopolitanism' factor.

Factor IV

Table 20

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor IV

Variable		Loading
10.	Strict/Not strict	0.655
13.	Religious/Not religious	0.599
16.	Before doing anything worry too much about what others may think/Do not worry too much about what others may think	0.434
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.417
1.	Would take notice of what their parents think/ Would not take much notice of what their parents think	0.388
5.	Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	0.347
	Percentage variance = 4.90	

Factor IV may be identified as the 'social conformism/non-conformism' factor.

Summary of Section 5.2

The foregoing would seem to suggest that adolescents in this study tended to evaluate the generational entities presented to them within four main underlying dimensions. For purposes of brevity these were labelled as the 'familial responsibility', the 'individualism and independence', the 'cosmopolitanism' and the 'social conformism' factors respectively.

5.3 Factor Analysis of Constructs for Each Ethnic Group Separately, for Sub-Continental and African-Asians Separately, for Boys and Girls in Each Ethnic Group Separately, and for All Boys and All Girls Separately

The main aim of carrying out separate analysis for the above sub-populations was to identify the degree of similarity/dissimilarity between the factor structures of each.

5.3.1 Comparison of Factors Obtained Separately From the Asian and English Sectors of the Sample

In both cases four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 were obtained. These accounted for 47.30 per cent of the total variance in the case of the Asians and 49.56 per cent in the case of the English.

5.3.1.1 Comparison of Factor I Obtained From the Asian and English Sectors of the Total Sample

Table 21A

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor I obtained separately from the Asian and English sectors of the sample

Variable	Asians	Loading
5.	Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	-0.716
17.	Would take good care of their children/Would neglect their children	-0.705
15.	Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	-0.672
20.	Fair/Unfair	-0.668
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	-0.611
12.	Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their parents when they get old	0.600

19.	Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	0.599
21.	Do nct trust their children/Trust their children	0.595
1.	Would take notice of what their parents think/ Would not take much notice of what their parents think	-0.594
2.	Dirty/Clean	0.532
13.	Religious/Not religious	-0.489
	Percentage variance = 22.42	

English

5.	Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	-0.657
15.	Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	-0.637
16.	Worry too much about what others may think/ Do not worry too much about what other people may think	-0.569
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	-0.497
17.	Would take good care of their children/Would neglect their children	-0.456
1.	Take notice of what their parents think/Would not take much notice of what their parents think	-0.449
2.	Dirty/Clean	0.431
9.	Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Think wives should obey their husbands	-0.344
20.	Fair/Unfair	-0.329
	Percentage variance = 28.56	

It can be seen that these factors have a very similar overall content in the case of the two ethnic groups. In each case 'good conduct' and 'getting on well/not well with parents' constitute the backbone of this factor (constructs 5 and 15). However, some interesting differences are also apparent. For instance, attributes concerned with 'care of elderly parents,' 'fidelity/infidelity to one's marriage partner', 'trust/distrust of children by their parents' and 'religiosity' (constructs 12, 19, 21 and 13)

are significantly correlated with the factor obtained from the Asians but not with the one obtained from the English. On the other hand, constructs reflecting a 'preoccupation with what other people may think', and a 'favourable/unfavourable view of sexual equality between marriage partners'(constructs 16 and 9) feature in factor I derived from the English but not in that obtained from the Asians. Thus, it may be concluded that while these factors are largely similar, each factor has facets which are unique to the specific ethnic group providing the data for its calculation. It is also worth nothing that these factors are similar to Factor I ('familial responsibility') obtained from the total sample.

5.3.1.2 Comparison of Factor II Obtained from the Asian and Factor III from the English Sectors of the Total Sample

It was found that these two factors were quite similar.

Table 21B

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor II obtained from the Asian and Factor III from the English Sectors of the total sample

Variable	Asians (Factor II)	Loading
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	0.679
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	0.608
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.552
16.	Worry too much about what others may think/ Do not worry too much about what other people may think	0.489
13.	Religious/Not religious	0.455
	Percentage variance = 13.66	
	English (Factor III)	
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	0.814
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	0.551
10.	Strict/Not strict	0.329
	Percentage variance = 5.84	

These factors are comparable to the 'cosmopolitanism' factor derived from the analysis of the total sample. Attitudes to 'mixed-marriage' and to 'socializing with groups different from one's own' seem to be the central components of these factors. In the case of the Asians, constructs illustrating an overall dimension of 'conformism/non-conformism' (constructs 8, 16, 13) are also identified with factor II above.

5.3.1.3 Comparison of Factor III obtained from the Asian and Factor II from the English sectors of the total sample

Table 21C

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor III and obtained from the Asian and Factor II from the English sectors of the sample

Asians (Factor III)

Variable	Loading
18. Independent/Not independent	-0.671
11. Have a great deal of freedom/Do not have a great deal of freedom	-0.661
4. Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	-0.569
9. Think husbands and wives should treat one another as equals/Think wives should obey their husbands	-0.495
7. Let their children make their own decisions/ Interfere in their children's decisions	-0.445

Percentage variance = 6.40

English (Factor II)

Variable	
4. Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	-0.721
7. Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	-0.718
8. Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.657
13. Religious/Not religious	0.649

9.	Think husbands and wives should treat one another as equals/Think wives should obey their husbands	-0.629
11.	Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	-0.569
2.	Dirty/Clean	0.495
18.	Independent/Not independent	-0.487
20.	Fair/Unfair	-0.486
10.	Strict/Not strict	0.465
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	-0.446
17.	Would take good care of their children/Would neglect their children	-0.408
21.	Do not trust their children/Trust their children	0.407
	Percentage variance = 9.74	

These factors are comparable to the 'individualism and independence' factor identified from a factor analysis of the total sample. While all the constructs displaying a high correlation with the factor obtained from the Asians are represented among those obtaining high loading on the factor extracted from the English sample, in the latter case, attributes such as those reflecting a 'modern/old-fashioned outlook', 'religiosity', 'dirtiness/cleanliness' and 'fairness/unfairness' are also associated with this dimension.

5.3.1.4 Comparison of Factor IV Obtained Separately from the Asian and English Sectors of the Total Sample

Table 21D

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor IV extracted separately for Asian and English sectors of the total sample

Variable	Asians	Loading
10.	Strict/Not strict	0.779
9.	Thinks wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Thinks wives should obey their husbands	-0.344
	Percentage variance = 4.83	

English

12.	Unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their parents when they get old	-0.719
19.	Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	-0.675
16.	Before doing anything, worry too much about what others may think/Do not worry too much about what others may think	-0.381
21.	Do not trust their children/Trust their children	-0.378
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	-0.377
17.	Would take good care of their children/ Would neglect their children	0.377
20.	Fair/Unfair	0.366
	Percentage variance = 5.43	

It is evident that the fourth factors extracted are completely dissimilar in the case of the two ethnic groups. The values of loadings suggest that in the case of the Asians the factor would seem primarily to illustrate a dimension of 'strictness'. Factor four extracted from the English, on the other hand, is concerned mainly with 'care of aged parents' and 'marital fidelity'. It will be remembered that in the case of the Asians constructs 12 and 19 were correlated with Factor I (Familial responsibility).

Summary of section 5.3.1

Results discussed in this section suggest that there is a great deal of similarity in the factor structures of the two ethnic groups. In both cases a four factor structure was obtained and the percentage of total variance accounted for by these factors was not too dissimilar (Asians = 47.30%; English = 49.56%). Further, three out of four factors extracted in each case were similar though not identical in content and were in turn comparable to three of the factors obtained from the total sample. Thus, it was found that a certain degree of uniqueness notwithstanding, the

comparable factors yielded by this separate analysis for the two ethnic groups appear to illustrate the three general dimensions of 'familial responsibility', 'individualism and independence' and 'cosmopolitanism'. However, the fourth factors extracted from the two ethnic groups were totally dissimilar in content.

The differences which emerged in the factor structures of the two ethnic groups are also rather interesting. For instance, it was found that the attributes concerned with 'care of aged parents', 'fidelity/infidelity to one's marriage partner', 'trust/distrust of children by parents', and 'religiosity' were part of the 'familial responsibility' factor obtained from the Asians but not of the one obtained from the English. In the case of the English, care of aged parents and fidelity/infidelity to one's marriage partner constitute a separate dimension (Factor IV). This difference may be due in part to the different family systems operating among the two ethnic groups.

In the extended Asian family system responsibility for the care of the elderly is as binding on the individual as that for the upbringing of one's own children. The two facets of familial responsibility are accorded equal weighting in terms of their contribution to the maintenance of the family 'izzat' (prestige). Family prestige may also be enhanced if members of the family are seen to be faithful to their marriage partners and are religious, even if only nominally so. It is worth pointing out that among the societies of the Sub-continent, no clear conceptual distinction is made between the secular and religious aspects of social life; religion is basically a way of life. Thus, for instance, the Hindus and Sikhs regard the execution of family obligations as part of 'Dharma'. The concept of 'Dharma' is not easy to define but may literally be translated as 'sacred/social duty' - it simultaneously combines a sense of the spiritual and the secular. It is, perhaps, due to this

fact that the factor obtained from the Asians encompasses the two facets of familial responsibility as well as the construct describing religiosity.

On the other hand, according to western social norms, one's primary responsibility is towards the family of procreation. The care of the elderly is not regarded as being unimportant but this responsibility tends to be of secondary significance compared with that felt for members of the nuclear family. Thus familial responsibility in this context was found to be segmented into two: that which one felt for the members of the nuclear family and that concerned with care of elderly parents. Indeed, the case-study evidence to be discussed later would seem to suggest that a similar process has begun to take shape among some Asian adolescents.

It was also found that the 'cosmopolitanism' factors obtained from the two ethnic groups differed to some extent. The factor obtained from the data provided by the Asians was found to include constructs relating to 'religiosity', 'traditional/modern outlook' and 'preoccupation with/no undue concern about what others may think'. In the case of the English, on the other hand, constructs concerned with 'traditional/modern outlook' and 'religiosity' as well as attributes of 'dirtiness/cleanliness' and 'fairness/unfairness' were correlated with the 'individualism and independence' factor. This is rather interesting in that it suggests that Asian adolescents tend to associate modernity of outlook rather more closely with 'cosmopolitanism' whereas English respondents seem to perceive it to be more closely associated with 'individualism'.

Finally, it was noted that the fourth factor extracted from the data obtained from the Asian sample referred to a dimension of 'strict/not strict'. Again, this may reflect their experience of having relatively less freedom compared with their English counterparts, which might have made a

evaluative dimension of 'strictness' more salient to them.

5.3.2 Factor Analysis of Constructs Performed Separately for Sub-continental and African-Asians

This separate analysis was performed because it was anticipated that the different overall socio-economic background of these two groups of Asians prior to migration may have contributed to the development of somewhat different value systems between the two groups. If this were the case, some of these differences, it was hoped, might be reflected in the type of factor structure obtained for the two Asian groups. It was found that in each case four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 were extracted and these accounted for 48.9 per cent of the total variance in the case of African-Asians, and 47.82 per cent in the case of the Sub-continentals.

5.3.2.1 Comparison of Factor I Computed Separately from the African-Asian and the Sub-continental Asian Sectors of the Asian Sample

Table 22A

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor I calculated separately for African-Asian and sub-continental Asian sectors of the Asian sample

African Asians

Variable	Loading
17. Would take good care of their children/ Would neglect their children	0.730
12. Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their parents when they get old	-0.704
5. Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	0.684
15. Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	0.674
19. Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/Would be faithful to their husband/wife	0.671
20. Fair/Unfair	0.642
13. Religious/Not religious	0.599

21.	Do not trust their children/Trust their children	-0.582
2.	Dirty/Clean	-0.544
1.	Would take notice of what their parents think/ Would not take notice of what their parents think	0.544
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	0.534

Percentage variance = 23.12

Sub-continental Asians

5.	Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	0.755
20.	Fair/Unfair	0.694
17.	Would take good care of children/Would neglect their children	0.688
15.	Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	0.685
1.	Would take notice of what their parents think/ Would not take much notice of what their parents think	0.659
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	0.639
21.	Do not trust their children/Trust their children	-0.551
2.	Dirty/Clean	-0.538
12.	Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their parents when they get old	-0.528
13.	Religious/Not religious	0.445
19.	Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	-0.439

Percentage variance = 22.73

It can be seen that the two factors are identical in content although not in terms of the loading order of constructs comprising it. They are identifiable as 'familial responsibility' factors.

5.3.2.2 Comparison of Factor II and Factor III Obtained Separately from the African-Asian and the Sub-containental Asian Sectors of the Asian Sample

Table 22B

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their loadings on Factor II obtained from the African-Asian and Factor III from the Sub-continental Asian sectors of the sample

African-Asians (Factor II)

Variable		Loading
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	-0.717
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	-0.613
10.	Strict/Not strict	-0.527
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	-0.515
13.	Religious/Not religious	-0.342
	Percentage variance = 13.68	

Sub-continental Asians (Factor III)

14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	0.743
16.	Worry too much about what others may think/ Do not worry too much about what others may think	0.635
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	0.559
13.	Religious/Not religious	0.515
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.423
	Percentage variance = 6.39	

Again, there is a great deal of similarity in the way these factors are structured in the case of the two Asian sub-groups, and are identifiable as 'cosmopolitanism' dimension. The main difference is that the characteristics 'Strict/Not strict' is an important component of the factor obtained from the African-Asians, but not of that obtained from the Sub-continental Asians. Conversely, the construct reflecting a 'preoccupation (or lack of it) with what others may think' (construct 16)

features among constructs with high loadings on the factor obtained from the Sub-continentals but not on the factor obtained from the African-Asians.

5.3.2.3 Comparison of Factor III and Factor II Obtained Separately from the African-Asians and the Sub-continental Asian Sectors of the Asian Sample

Table 22C

Constructs arranged in descending order of the absolute values of their loadings on Factor III obtained from the African-Asian and Factor II from Sub-continental Asian sectors of the Asian sample

Variable		Loading
	African Asians (Factor III)	
9.	Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Thinks wives should obey their husbands	0.713
7.	Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	0.659
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband or wife/Would let their parent choose their husband/ wife	0.651
	Percentage variance = 6.51	
	Sub-continental Asians (Factor II)	
11.	Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	0.702
18.	Independent/Not dependent	0.692
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/ wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	0.534
7.	Would let their children make their own decision/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	0.437
9.	Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Thinks wives should obey their husbands	0.414
	Percentage variance = 13.40	

It is apparent that these factors are only partially similar. Although constructs 9, 7 and 4 feature in both the factors, they are associated with higher loadings on the factor obtained from the African-Asians. The backbone of the factor obtained from the Sub-continental Asians, on the

other hand, are attributes concerned with 'freedom' and 'independence' (construct 11 and 18). In other words, the element of independence and freedom (or lack of it) is absent from the factor obtained from the African-Asians. In their case, these attributes comprise a separate dimension (Factor IV). Overall, these factors appear to illustrate a dimension of 'individualism'.

5.3.2.4 Comparison of Factor IV Obtained Separately from the African-Asian and the Sub-continental Asian Sectors of the Asian Sample

Table 22D

Constructs arranged in a descending order of the absolute values of their loadings on Factor IV obtained separately from African-Asian and Sub-continental Asian sectors of the Asian sample

Variable	Loading
African Asians	
11. Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	0.767
18. Independent/Not independent	0.739
Percentage variance = 5.18	
Sub-continental Asians	
10. Strict/Not strict	0.814
8. Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.444
21. Do not trust their children/Trust their children	0.397
Percentage variance = 0.530	

It is evident that these two factors are entirely different. The factor obtained from African-Asians denotes 'independence and freedom' whereas that from the Sub-continental Asians is conerned with 'strictness'.

Summary of Section 5.3.2

A comparison of factors extracted separately from data provided by the Sub-continentals and the African-Asians suggests that while the factors illustrating the general dimensions of 'familial responsibility' and 'cosmopolitanism' are almost identical, those reflecting 'individualism

and independence' are structured fairly differently, and the fourth factor in each case is unique to the specific group of Asians in question. The 'individualism and independence' dimension was more clearly illustrated by the factor derived from the sub-continental Asian sub-sample. In the case of the African-Asians, on the other hand, a factor describing a dimension of 'individualism' only was obtained; attributes describing 'freedom' and 'independence' were conspicuously absent from this factor. These two attributes comprise a separate dimension in the case of African-Asians (Factor IV). Factor IV derived from the Sub-continentals, on the other hand, reflects a dimension of 'strictness'. These results demonstrate that African-Asians and Sub-continental Asians categorized the entities along two very similar but two rather different evaluative dimensions. The content of Factor IV derived from these two categories of Asians would seem to suggest that the African-Asians place a greater emphasis on 'freedom' and 'independence'. This may partly be due to their urban and comparatively more 'middle-class' background. The parents of young Asians from the sub-continent, on the other hand, tend to be relatively more 'strict' and 'old-fashioned'. Indeed, these parents may frown upon 'the snobbish East Africans' who are likely to be regarded as being very permissive. Asian girls from East Africa, for example, tend to be described by them as exercising a 'bad influence' on their own daughters. It is not surprising, therefore, that the fourth factor derived from the respondents with Sub-continental origins reflects a preoccupation with 'strictness/leniency' and 'old fashioned/modern outlook'.

5.3.3 Factor Analysis of Data Provided by the Male and Female Sectors of the Asian Sample

In each case the analysis yielded four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 and these accounted for an almost identical proportion of the

total variance (Asian boys = 47.92%; Asian girls = 47.93%).

5.3.3.1 Comparison of Factor I Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the Asian Sample

Table 23A

Constructs arranged in the descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor I obtained separately from the male and female sectors of the Asian sample

Asian boys

Variable	Loading
17. Would take good care of their children/ Would neglect their children	0.711
5. Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	0.709
20. Fair/Unfair	0.695
15. Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	0.691
3. Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	0.643
21. Do not trust their children/Trust their children	-0.635
12. Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their parents when they get old	-0.604
19. Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	-0.600
1. Would take notice of what their parents think/ Would not take much notice of what their parents think	0.595
2. Dirty/Clean	-0.538
13. Religious/Not religious	0.528
Percentage variance = 23.09	

Asian girls

17. Would take good care of their children/Would neglect their children	-0.681
19. Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	0.679
21. Do not trust their children/Trust their children	0.640
12. Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their parents when they get old	0.621

5.	Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	-0.620
15.	Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	-0.607
20.	Fair/Unfair	-0.582
1.	Would take notice of what their parents think/ Would not take much notice of what their parents think	-0.545
2.	Dirty/Clean	0.512
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	-0.457
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	0.405
	Percentage variance = 21.85	

It can be seen that the two factors are identical except for the loading order and are comparable to the 'familial responsibility' dimension identified earlier.

5.3.3.2 Comparison of Factor II Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the Asian Sample

Table 23B

Constructs arranged in the descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor II obtained separately from male and female sectors of the Asian sample

Asian boys

Variable		Loading
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	-0.714
6.	Against mixed marriages/In favour of mixed marriages	-0.586
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	-0.575
16.	Worry too much about what others may think/ Do not worry too much about what others may think	0.554
13.	Religious/Not religious	-0.437
7.	Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would not let their children make their own decisions	0.407
	Percentage variance = 13.16	

Asian girls

13.	Religious/Not religious	0.654
6.	Against mixed marriages/In favour of mixed marriages	0.572
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.533
16.	Worry too much about what others may think/ Do not worry too much about what others may think	0.527
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	0.525
10.	Strict/Not strict	0.374

Percentage variance = 14.42

The two factors are almost identical in content and would seem to be similar to the 'cosmopolitanism' dimension previously identified. Again, as was the case with a similar factor isolated from the total Asian sample, there is an element of social 'conformism/non-conformism' built into it.

5.3.3.3 Comparison of Factor III Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the Asian Sample

Table 23C

Constructs arranged in the descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor III obtained separately from male and female sectors of the Asian sample

Asian boys

Variable		Loading
11.	Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	0.681
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	0.578
9.	Thinks wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Thinks wives should obey their husbands	0.577
18.	Independent/Not independent	0.573
7.	Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	0.438

Percentage variance = 6.44

Asian girls

18.	Independent/Not independent	-0.760
11.	Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	-0.733
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	-0.400
	Percentage variance = 6.57	

These factors reflecting a dimension of 'individualism and independence' are very similar in content. However, construct 9 concerned with 'equality between husband and wife' shows a high correlation with the factor obtained from the boys but not with that from the girls.

5.3.3.4 Comparison of Factor IV Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the Asian Sample

Table 23D

Constructs arranged in the descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor IV obtained separately from male and female sectors of the Asian sample

Asian boys

		Loading
10.	Strict/Not strict	0.823
19.	Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	0.366
	Percentage variance = 5.25	

Asian girls

7.	Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	0.743
9.	Think husbands and wives should treat one another as equals/Thinks wives should obey their husbands	0.650
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	-0.469
10.	Strict/Not strict	-0.455
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	0.398

20.	Fair/Unfair	0.384
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	0.357
	Percentage variance = 5.09	

These factors are clearly different in the case of boys and girls. The factor obtained from the boys seems to reflect an evaluative dimension mainly of 'strictness'. The data from the girls, on the other hand, yielded a factor concerned with 'equalitarian relationships between parents and children, and between husband and wife'. Constructs concerned with 'modern/old-fashioned outlook' and 'strictness' are also associated with the factor obtained from the data provided by the girls.

Summary of Section 5.3.3

Results discussed in this section suggest that the first three factors identified separately in the case of Asian boys and girls are very similar in content and seem to illustrate the general dimensions referred to earlier, namely, the 'familial responsibility', 'cosmopolitanism', and 'individualism' and independence'. However, the fourth factors extracted were different in each case. The fourth factor obtained from the boys seems to reflect a dimension mainly of 'strictness'. On the other hand, 'equalitarianism in relationships between parents and children, and between husband and wife', as well as attributes reflecting 'modern/old-fashioned' and 'strict/not strict' outlook comprise the main components of the factor yielded by data provided by the girls.

5.3.4 Factor Analysis of Constructs for English Boys and Girls Separately

In this comparison, as in the previous ones, four factors with eigenvalues greater than one were obtained. These accounted for 46.86 per cent of the total variance in the case of boys, and 59.50 per cent in the case of girls.

5.3.4.1 Comparison of Factor I Obtained Separately From the Male and Female Sectors of the English Sample

Table 24A

Constructs arranged in the descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor I extracted separately from male and female sectors of the English sample

English boys

Variable		Loading
19.	Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	-0.719
17.	Would take good care of their children/ Would neglect their children	0.648
2.	Dirty/Clean	-0.614
5.	Well behaved/Badly behaved	0.597
21.	Do not trust their children/Trust their children	-0.591
20.	Fair/Unfair	0.536
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	0.518
12.	Unlikely to take care of aged parents/ Would take care of aged parents	-0.501
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	0.446
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	-0.419
18.	Independent/Not independent	0.410

Percentage variance = 25.34

English girls

5.	Well behaved/Badly behaved	-0.808
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	-0.763
17.	Would take good care of their children/Would neglect their children	-0.720
2.	Dirty/Clean	0.709
20.	Fair/Unfair	-0.689

21.	Do not trust their children/Trust their children	0.639
15.	Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	-0.633
9.	Thinks wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Thinks wives should obey their husbands	-0.619
18.	Independent/Not independent	-0.552
7.	Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	-0.541
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	-0.508
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.426
19.	Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	0.420
	Percentage variance = 32.69	

Apart from the loading order, these factors are very similar. The major difference is that construct 19 ('Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/Would be faithful to their husband/wife') which is associated with the highest loading on the factor yielded by the data provided by English boys, obtains a comparatively low loading (0.420) on the factor extracted from a separate analysis for English girls; and constructs 7 and 9 do not feature amongst those obtaining the highest loading on the factor obtained from the boys' data.

It is also found that the construct concerned with the 'care of elderly parents' (construct 12) is quite highly correlated with the factor obtained from the boys but not as much with the one obtained from the girls. The reverse applies to construct 15 ('Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents') which obtains a high loading on the factor extracted from the data provided by the boys. Overall, the factors reflect a general dimension of 'familial responsibility'.

5.3.4.2 Comparison of Factor II Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the English Sample

Table 24B

Constructs arranged in the descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor II obtained separately from male and female sectors of the English sample

English boys

Variable	Loading
7. Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	-0.628
9. Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Think wives should obey their husbands	-0.618
11. Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	-0.569
4. Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	-0.549
10. Strict/Not strict	0.544
8. Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.515
13. Religious/Not religious	0.469
18. Independent/Not independent	-0.349

Percentage variance = 9.10

English girls

13. Religious/Not religious	0.734
1. Take notice of what their parents think/Do not take notice of what their parents think	0.617
4. Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/wife	-0.599
7. Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	-0.550
8. Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.457
11. Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	-0.438
9. Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Think wives should obey their husbands	-0.424

10.	Strict/Not strict	0.361
18.	Independent/Not independent	-0.324
	Percentage variance = 10.64	

It is apparent that these factors are almost identical in content, the only exception being that construct 1 ('Take notice of what their parents think/Do not take notice of what their parents think') does not correlate highly with the factor obtained from the boys. On the other hand, this construct obtains the second highest loading on the factor obtained from the girls. That is, the loading order of the constructs are different. These factors are illustrative of a general dimension of 'individualism and independence' noted earlier.

5.3.4.3 Comparison of Factor III Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the English Sample

Table 24C

Constructs arranged in the descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on factor III obtained separately from the male and female sectors of the English sample

English boys

Variable		Loading
15.	Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	-0.649
16.	Before doing anything, worry too much about what others may think/Do not worry about what other people may think	-0.582
13.	Religious/Not religious	-0.469
5.	Well behaved/Badly behaved	-0.417
1.	Take notice of what their parents think/Do not take notice of what their parents think	-0.375
9.	Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Think wives should obey their husbands	-0.351
	Percentage variance = 6.281	

English girls

12.	Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their parents	-0.698
16.	Before doing anything, worry too much about what others may think/Do not worry too much about what other people may think	-0.652
19.	Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/Would be faithful to their husband/wife	-0.579

Percentage variance = 6.45

It is apparent that the above factors share only one attribute (construct 16). The factor obtained from the boys seems to be concerned with the 'quality of relationship with one's parents', 'whether or not one is over-concerned about others' perception of one's conduct', and 'religiosity'. On the other hand, the factor obtained from the girls is associated mainly with 'care of elderly parents', 'the extent to which one might be preoccupied (or not so) with another's perception of one's conduct', and 'marital fidelity/infidelity'. It is interesting that the construct relating to 'care of aged parents' does not feature importantly in the 'familial responsibility' factor obtained from English girls. This may in part be due to the nature of the English woman's role in this respect. In general, it is English women rather than men who tend to be more centrally involved in the care of aged parents. Women may well be expected to invite elderly parents to come and share their conjugal home. Thus, it may be that they view this as an important but separate responsibility in addition to the obligations towards the conjugal family. The boys on the other hand probably regard care of aged parents as a comparatively less demanding part of an overall responsibility for the family; hence, in their case this construct is correlated with the 'familial responsibility' factor.

5.3.4.4 Comparison of Factor IV Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the English Sample

Table 24[

Constructs arranged in the descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor IV obtained separately from the male and female sectors of the English sample

Variable		Loading
	English boys	
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	0.748
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	0.705
12.	Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their parents when they get old	0.417
	Percentage variance = 6.13	
	English girls	
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	0.692
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	0.627
10.	Strict/Not strict	0.552
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.354
	Percentage variance = 9.72	

It is evident that these factors are readily identifiable as reflecting a 'cosmopolitanism' dimension and are largely similar in the case of the two ethnic/sex categories.

Summary of Section 5.3.4

The comparison of factors obtained separately from the data provided by English boys and girls indicates that three out of the four factors extracted were comparable and similar in content. These factors, as in the previous cases, appear to illustrate separate dimensions of 'familial responsibility', 'individualism and independence', and 'cosmopolitanism'. The fourth factor derived from the girls' data was mainly concerned with

'care of aged parents', whereas that obtained from the boys centred around the construct 'Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents'.

5.3.5 Factor Analysis of Constructs for all Boys and all Girls Separately

In each case this separate analysis produced four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00. The factors obtained from the boys accounted for 45.70 per cent of the total variance, and those from the girls accounted for 49.3 per cent.

5.3.5.1 Comparison of Factor I Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the Total Sample

Table 25A

All boys

Variable	Loading
17. Would take good care of their children/Would neglect their children	-0.686
19. Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/ Would be faithful to their husband/wife	0.678
20. Fair/Unfair	-0.647
21. Do not trust their children/Trust their children	0.639
5. Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	-0.636
12. Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their aged parents	0.575
2. Dirty/Clean	0.573
15. Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	-0.549
3. Try to understand other people's way of life/Do not try to understand other people's way of life	-0.549
1. Would take notice of what their parents think/Would not take much notice of what their parents think	-0.489
Percentage variance = 21.09	
All girls	
19. Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife/Would be faithful to their husband/wife	-0.731

12.	Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents/ Would look after their aged parents	-0.721
17.	Would take good care of their children/Would neglect their children	0.628
21.	Do not trust their children/Trust in their children	-0.564
15.	Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	0.539
20.	Fair/Unfair	0.539
5.	Well behaved/Badly behaved	0.398
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	0.370
1.	Take notice of what their parents think/Do not take notice of what their parents think	0.360

Percentage variance = 24.06

The above factors are readily identifiable as representing a 'familial responsibility' dimension. The factor obtained from the girls' data centres almost exclusively on attributes related to aspects of family life. The factor extracted for boys, however, includes additional attributes (constructs 2 and 3).

5.3.5.2 Comparison of Factor II Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the Total Sample

Table 25B

Constructs arranged in a descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor II obtained separately from male and female sectors of the total sample

All boys

Variable		Loading
11.	Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	-0.645
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/ wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/ wife	-0.631
9.	Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Think wives should obey their husbands	-0.607
18.	Independent/Not independent	-0.519

7.	Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	-0.519

Percentage variance = 13.45

All girls

4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/ wife/Would let their parents choose their husband/ wife	-0.738
18.	Independent/Not independent	-0.619
11.	Have a great deal of freedom/Have very little freedom	-0.608
7.	Would let their children make their own decisions/ Would interfere in their children's decisions	-0.548
13.	Religious/Not religious	0.530
9.	Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Think wives should obey their husbands	-0.486
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.433
1.	Would take notice of what their parents think/Would not take much notice of what their parents think	0.390

Percentage variance = 14.85

It is apparent that the above factors are very similar in content though not in the loading order. The factor obtained from the girls' data includes additional constructs (13, 8, 1). These factors appear to illustrate the general dimension of 'individualism and independence'.

5.3.5.3 Comparison of Factor III Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the Total Sample

Table 25C

Constructs arranged in the descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor III obtained separately from the male and female sectors of the total sample

All boys

		Loading
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	-0.770
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	-0.623

8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	-0.397

Percentage variance = 6.07

All girls

10.	Strict/Not strict	0.656
14.	Stick to their own kind/Mix with others	0.648
8.	Old fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.561
6.	Are against mixed marriages/Are in favour of mixed marriages	0.549
9.	Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals/Think wives should obey their husbands	-0.363

Percentage variance = 6.10

It can be seen that the above factors are equivalent to the 'cosmopolitanism' dimension obtained for the various combinations of the sample analysed. The factors are identical in content except for construct 10 ('Strict/Not strict') which obtains the highest loading on the factor obtained from the girls but does not correlate significantly with that obtained from the boys' data.

5.3.5.3 Comparison of Factor IV Obtained Separately from the Male and Female Sectors of the Total Sample

Table 25D

Constructs arranged in a descending order of the absolute values of their factor loadings on Factor IV obtained separately from the male and female sectors of the total sample

All boys

Variable		Loading
10.	Strict/Not strict	0.639
13.	Religious/Not religious	0.559
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook/Like the new ways	0.407
16.	Before doing anything, worry too much about what others may think/Do not worry too much about what others may think	0.385
5.	Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	0.359

Percentage variance = 5.10

All girls

5.	Are well behaved/Are badly behaved	0.681
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life/ Do not try to understand other people's way of life	0.631
16.	Before doing anything worry too much	0.552
2.	Dirty/Clean	-0.520
15.	Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents	0.431
17.	Would take good care of their children/Would neglect their children	0.391
20.	Fair/Unfair	0.370
1.	Take notice of what their parents think/Do not take notice of what their parents think	0.363

Percentage variance = 4.92

It is evident that these factors share two attributes (construct 5 and 16). However, the major thrust of the factor computed for boys appears to be 'strictness' and 'religiosity'. In the case of girls, the factor is more strongly concerned with overall conduct and 'tolerance/intolerance of diverse ways of life'. The factors are, therefore, only partially similar.

Summary of Section 5.3.5

The results of this section indicate that factor structures operating among boys and girls are largely similar. Three out of the four factors identified in each case were comparable and reflected dimensions of 'familial responsibility', 'individualism and independence' and 'cosmopolitanism'. However, in the case of boys, 'familial responsibility' factor also included attributes related to 'good conduct', 'dirtiness/ cleanliness', an 'understanding/intolerant attitude to diverse ways of life' etc. Thus, the factor extends beyond 'familial responsibility' to include attributes concerned with an 'upright character'. In the case

of girls, on the other hand, the factor is more specifically focussed on familism. This, of course, is not incongruent with the way sex roles are generally defined in most societies. The fourth factors obtained from the two sexes were rather different. That provided by the boys' data is more centrally concerned with 'strictness' and 'religiosity', whereas that obtained from girls' data focuses mainly on good behaviour ('Are well behaved/Are badly behaved') and on the attitude to 'diverse ways of life'..

5.4 Summary of the Chapter

The analyses presented in this chapter had two main aims. The first was to identify the factor structure of the total sample as a group irrespective of the ethnic background or sex of the respondents. The underlying assumption was that the shared experiences of these respondents as 15-16 year olds attending the same form in schools located in the same area would subject them to certain similar influences which might shape a factor structure that could be regarded as being valid for them as adolescents. The second aim was to examine any possible sex or ethnic differences in the factor structures of the different categories of respondents. To this end, the factor structures obtained from a separate factor analysis of each ethnic group, of Sub-continental and African-Asians, of boys and girls within each ethnic group and, finally, of all boys and all girls were compared.

It was found that every single analysis yielded four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00, that is, a four-factor structure was common to all ethnic/sex categories. Further, each separate factor analysis produced three comparable factors which appeared to illustrate three general dimensions. These dimensions were labelled 'familial responsibility', 'individualism and independence', and 'cosmopolitanism'. Thus, it can be suggested with some degree of confidence that all

adolescents in this sample, irrespective of their ethnic background or sex, utilized three very similar evaluative dimensions in categorizing the entities presented to them. The fourth factor elicited tended to be specific to each sub-group under consideration.

Three main differences were noted in the factor structures of Asian and English respondents. First, it became evident that attributes related to 'care of aged parents', 'marital fidelity/infidelity', 'trust/distrust of children by parents', and 'religiosity' were part of the 'familial responsibility' factor yielded by the data obtained from the Asians but not of the one obtained from the English. In the case of the English, constructs concerned with the 'care of aged parents' and 'marital fidelity/infidelity' constituted a separate factor (Factor IV). It was as if the English respondents perceived family responsibility to be segmented into that concerned with the nuclear family and that which might be felt for the aged parents. It was suggested that this was probably a fairly accurate reflection of the reality within a nuclear family system of the type associated with Western societies. Responsibility for the care of the elderly parents, in this system, tends to be defined as a separate sphere of responsibility from the obligations felt for members of the nuclear family. Comparisons of factors obtained from English boys and girls showed that such segmentation was reflected more clearly in the factors provided by the girls' data. Again, this would seem to be congruent with the prevalent norm that, generally, it is English women rather than men who are expected to be more centrally involved in the care of aged parents. Second, the comparison between the 'cosmopolitanism' factors computed for the two ethnic groups suggested that, while the Asians seem to associate 'modernity in outlook' with 'cosmopolitanism', the English tended to associate it with 'individualism'. Third, the fourth factor

in the case of the Asians, was illustrative of a dimension of 'strictness' whereas in the case of the English, the fourth factor was mainly concerned with 'care of elderly parents'.

Further, an examination of the factors computed separately for the Sub-continental Asians and African-Asians showed that although the factors illustrating the general dimensions of 'familial responsibility' and 'cosmopolitanism' were almost identical, those reflecting 'individualism and independence' were structured fairly differently, and the fourth factor in each case was unique to the specific category of Asians under consideration. The 'individualism and independence' dimension was more clearly illustrated by the factor derived from the Sub-continental sub-sample. A similar factor obtained from the African-Asians, on the other hand, seemed to be concerned with only 'individualism' attributes describing 'freedom' and 'independence' being conspicuously absent from this factor. These two attributes comprise a separate dimension in the case of African-Asians (Factor IV). Factor IV derived from the Sub-continentals seemed to reflect a dimension of 'strictness'. It was suggested this may be due in part to the urban and comparatively 'middle class' background of the African-Asians, and the relatively more 'strict' and 'old-fashioned' outlook of a majority of the Asians from the Sub-continent who, in the main, tend to be of rural background. Thus, the results suggest that the two categories of Asians employed two similar and two different evaluative dimensions to categorize entities presented to them.

With regard to the comparison between the factor structures of Asian boys and girls, it was found that three of the four factors extracted were very similar in content ('familial responsibility', 'individualism and independence' and 'cosmopolitanism'). The fourth factors elicited were different in each case. The fourth factor obtained from the girls

was mainly concerned with 'equalitarianism in the relationships between parents and children' and between husband and wife', as well as with 'modernity' and 'strictness'. That computed for Asian boys, on the other hand, focussed mainly upon 'strictness'.

This apparent sex difference may be attributed to the differential position of the two sexes within the Asian family system. While there is considerable variation amongst families in the patterns and quality of relationships between its members, in general, a woman both in her role as a daughter and a wife, has a subordinate position vis-a-vis the male. It is understandable, therefore, that a separate factor primarily concerned with gender.equality/inequality was obtained from the data provided by the girls. At the same time, it is worth noting that the Asian male adolescent is also subjected to the authority of the adults. This might in part explain why a factor associated with 'strictness' was yielded by the data provided by the Asian boys.

Similarly, the first three factors computed separately for English boys and girls were remarkably similar, but the fourth factors obtained were different. In the case of the girls this factor was concerned mainly with 'care of aged parents' whereas that obtained from the boys' data centred around the construct 'Get on well with their parents/Do not get on well with their parents'. It was suggested that this difference may in part be attributed to the comparatively greater social pressures on English women than men to take care of their elderly parents.

Finally, the comparison between factors obtained for all boys and all girls indicated that factor structures operating between the two sexes were largely similar in that three out of the four factors identified in each case were comparable ('familial responsibility', 'individualism and independence' and 'cosmopolitanism'). However, the fourth factor obtained from the boys' data was more centrally reflexive of 'strictness'

and 'religiosity', whereas that obtained from the girls' data was concerned primarily with general conduct ('Are well behaved/Are badly behaved') and attitude to 'diverse ways of life'.

Thus, it may be concluded that while the factor structures obtained for each of the sub-groups are similar in many respects they are also characterized by some differences related to the ethnic and sex background of respondents, and in the case of Asians also to their country of residence prior to migration.

The next chapter is concerned with the adolescents' perceptions of the entities on the factors identified in this chapter.

Chapter 6

Factor Analysis: Perception of Entities as Reflected by the Factor Scores

Introduction

Once the dimensionality of the variables (constructs) had been identified, the next concern of the study was to obtain an indication of the way in which particular entities may have been evaluated according to these factors by the respondents. Such perceptions were deduced from the medians of the factor scores computed for each entity on each factor over the various populations and sub-populations noted in the previous chapter. Means of factor scores for each entity were also calculated but it was found that there was very little difference between the means and the medians. Thus, medians were used as the simplest parameters for measurement, there being no parametric statistical tests intended to be used on this data.

From the results discussed in the previous chapter, it may be evident that in order to do full justice to the differences in the factor structures obtained, factor scores on each factor computed for every single population and sub-population should be reported. However, this would be an exceedingly lengthy and, for the most part, unrevealing process. In view of the high level of similarity in the factor structures obtained, it was felt that such a detailed presentation of the data was, perhaps, unnecessary. Thus it was decided to report factor scores on factors obtained (a) from the total sample and (b) from the Asian and the English sectors of the total sample. The first strategy has the merit of permitting a comparison of factor scores obtained for each ethnic and sex group on the same factors. Such a comparison would not be possible with regard to (b) because factor scores would have been obtained from a different (albeit similar) set of factors. However, as

the ethnic differences in perception are the major focus of this study, and certain ethnic differences in the factor structures were clearly apparent in the last chapter, it is important that the discussion here is more focussed on (b)

Bearing this in mind, the chapter is divided into three sections. The first two sections will deal with the perception of entities on factors obtained from the data provided by the Asian and the English respondents respectively. The third section will report factor scores for entities on factors obtained from the total sample. For purposes of clarity, findings of the third section will be presented in a summary form and the tables accompanying it may be found in the appendices.

6.1 Asian Respondents' Perception Of Entities On Factors Obtained From The Asian Sector Of The Total Sample

As noted in the introduction, this and the next section will present findings in some detail.

Section 6.1.1 will deal with the adolescents' self-perceptions, section 6.1.2 will be concerned with entities which obtained the highest and the lowest factor scores on each factor, and finally, section 6.1.3 will examine the adolescents' perceptions of 'ethnic/generational' entities irrespective of whether or not they featured in 6.1.3.

6.1.1 Self-Perceptions

6.1.1.1 Self-image On Factor I ('Familial responsibility')

It will be recalled that high factor scores on this factor are associated with the following attributes: 'Are well behaved', 'Would take good care of their children', 'Get on well with their parents',

'Fair', 'Try to understand other people's way of life', 'Would look after their parents when they grow old', 'Would be faithful to their husband/wife', 'Trust their children', 'Would take notice of what their parents think', 'Clean', and 'Religious'. Low score would be associated with the opposite poles of these constructs.

Table 26A

Median factor scores associated with the Asian adolescents' self-image on Factor I provided by the Asian sector of the total sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
Asian boys.	1.149	0.716
Asian girls	1.051	0.814
All Asians	1.086	0.742

It is apparent that the Asian boys and girls aspire to become the type of person who would be inclined to fulfil his/her family responsibility. Their 'current' self-image does not match the 'ideal' but obtains reasonably high score on it. No striking sex differences are evident.

6.1.1.2 Self-image On Factor II ('Cosmopolitanism')

High factor scores on this factor would be associated with the following characterstics: 'Mix with others', 'Are in favour of mixed marriages', 'Like the new ways', 'Do not worry too much about what other people may think', and 'Not religious'.

Table 26B

Median factor scores associated with the Asian adolescents' self-image on Factor II provided by the Asian sector of the total sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
Asian boys	0.397	0.276
Asian girls	0.559	0.472
All Asians	0.477	0.362

Clearly, neither the boys nor the girls associate either facet of their self-image very closely with 'Cosmopolitanism', although the girls do so to a greater extent than the boys. The case study data to be discussed later suggests that this may be due in part to the fact that in an ethnically heterogeneous society issues reflected in constructs such as 'Mix with others', 'In favour of mixed-marriages' etc. may acquire certain specific meanings some of which are likely to have negative connotations.

6.1.1.3 Self-image On Factor III ('Individualism and independence')

High scores on this factor are likely to be associated with the following attributes: 'Independent', 'Have a great deal of freedom', 'Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife', 'Think husbands and wives should treat one another as equals', 'Would let their children make their own decisions'. Low scores, on the other hand, would be more closely associated with the opposite poles of these constructs.

Table 26C

Median factor scores associated with the Asian adolescents' self-image on Factor III provided by the Asian sector of the total sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
Asian boys	0.423	-0.108
Asian girls	0.514	-0.116
All Asians	0.460	-0.074

It is evident that Asian adolescents in this study do not evince a strong inclination towards 'individualism and independence', although their 'ideal' self-image is associated with comparatively higher scores on this factor

than their 'current' self-image. This result may not be surprising in view of the fact that the joint-family system expects its members to act in the best interest of the family rather than the individual. Case study data suggest that too much 'independence' or 'freedom' tends to be regarded by Asian adolescents as being undesirable.

6.1.1.4 Self-image On Factor IV ('Strictness')

High factor scores on this factor would be associated with the following characteristics: 'Not strict', 'Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals', and 'Like the new ways'.

Table 26D

Median factor scores associated with the Asian adolescents' self-image on Factor IV provided by the Asian sector of the total sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
Asian boys	0.060	0.347
Asian girls	0.281	0.181
All Asians	0.101	0.251

These relatively low scores would indicate that these respondents do not see themselves as being 'lenient' persons, rather they view themselves as being reasonably 'strict'.

Thus, it may be concluded that Asian adolescents aspire to be the type of persons who would be inclined to fulfill their family obligations, be fairly 'cosmopolitan' and 'individualistically' oriented but not too much, and who would be mildly 'strict' rather than lenient.

6.1.2 Comparison Of Entities Obtaining the Highest and the Lowest Median Factor Scores

6.1.2.1 Comparison Of Entities Obtaining the Highest and the Lowest Median Factor Scores On Factor I ('Familial responsibility')

Table 27A

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor I obtained from the Asian sector of the total sample

	Highest Scores		Lowest Scores	
Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
Asian boys	Myself as I would like to be	1.149	English boys	-1.148
	The kind of person I would like to marry	1.141	English girls	-0.836
	My mother	0.845	English men	-0.593
	My father	0.828	English women	-0.432
	Myself as I am now	0.716	English parents	-0.379
Asian girls	Myself as I would like to be	1.051	English boys	-1.277
	My mother	0.961	English men	-0.819
	The kind of person I would like to marry	0.954	English girls	-0.767
	Myself as I am now	0.814	Indian/ Pakistani boys	-0.725
	My best friend	0.673	Men teachers	-0.547

Sex differences in the perception of entities above are quite clearly evident. Although both boys and girls seem to associate 'facets of self', 'an ideal marriage partner' and their own 'mother' most closely with this factor of family responsibility, their views on 'My father' and 'My best friend' are rather dissimilar. Boys tend to rate 'father' much more highly

on this factor than do the girls (0.828 compared with 0.576 respectively). On the other hand, Asian girls regard their respective 'best friend' to be more likely to fulfil his/her family obligations than do the boys (0.673 compared with 0.368). In addition, Asian boys tend to view all English entities least favourably on this factor. In the case of Asian girls, however, the entities tend to be differentiated according to gender; apart from 'English girls', all entities receiving the lowest scores from Asian girls are male.

6.1.2.2 Comparison of Entities Receiving the Highest and the Lowest Median Factor Scores on Factor II ('Cosmopolitanism')

Table 27B

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor II obtained from the Asian sector of the total sample

	Highest Scores		Lowest Scores	
Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
Asian boys	English girls	0.55	Indian/Pakistani Parents	-0.929
	English women	0.446	My mother	-0.884
	Ideal teacher	0.438	Indian/Pakistani women	-0.83
	Myself as I would like to be	0.397	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.735
	The kind of person I would like to marry	0.392	Father	-0.59
Asian girls	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.683	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.976
	The kind of person I would like to marry	0.577	Indian/Pakistani women	-0.912
	Myself as I would like to be	0.559	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.599
	Myself as I am now	0.472	My mother	-0.469
	Women teachers	0.413	My father	-0.275

It is evident that 'English girls' seem to be regarded by the Asian boys as being the most 'cosmopolitan'. Asian girls, on the other hand, appear to consider 'Indian/Pakistani boys' and an 'ideal marriage partner' to be the most 'cosmopolitan'. Facets of self and 'women teachers' are also among the five entities receiving the highest scores on this factor.

Asian boys' and girls' perception of their 'own parents' and 'Asian adults' on this factor is indeed very similar. Both appear to consider these entities to be the least 'cosmopolitan' of the 20 entities presented to them.

6.1.2.3 Comparison of Entities Obtaining the Highest and the Lowest Median Factor Scores on Factor III ('Individualism and independence')

Table 27C

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores On Factor III obtained from the Asian sector of the total sample

	Highest Scores		Lowest Scores	
Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
Asian boys	English girls	0.541	Indian/Pakistani women	-0.805
	English parents	0.537	Indian/Pakistani girls	-0.778
	English women	0.431	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.537
	Myself as I would like to be	0.423	Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.456
	men teachers	0.332	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.427

Table 27C cont'd.

Asian girls	English girls	0.799	Indian/Pakistani girls	-1.068
	English women	0.779	Indian/Pakistani women	-1.049
	English parents	0.743	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.943
	English men	0.598	My mother	-0.46
	English boys	0.573	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.393

There is strong indication that this dimension is utilized by these respondents to differentiate persons according to their ethnic background. It is as if one culture is considered to be more 'individualistic' than the other. Overall, English are construed as being 'individualistic' whereas Asians are associated with the lowest scores on this factor. The range of scores obtained for Asian girls compared with Asian boys would seem to suggest that Asian girls have a more polarised view of entities on this factor than Asian boys.

6.1.2.4 Comparison of Entities Receiving the Highest and the Lowest Median Scores on Factor IV ('Strictness')

Table 27D

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor IV obtained from the Asian sector of the total sample

	Highest Scores		Lowest Scores	
Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
Asian boys	English girls	0.461	Head of our school	-0.907
	English boys	0.435	My father	-0.569
	Indian/Pakistani girls	0.413	Men teachers	-0.545
	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.341	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.482

Table 27D cont'd

Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
Asian boys	Myself as I am now	0.347	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.405
Asian girls	English girls	0.642	Head of our school	-0.782
	Indian/Pakistani girls	0.564	My father	-0.69
	English women	0.559	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.591
	English boys	0.513	Indian/Pakistani women	-0.393
	My best friend	0.51	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.321
			Men teachers	-0.311

It will be remembered that in this case, lower factor scores are associated with a greater degree of 'strictness'. The most striking aspect of this table is that although both sexes seem to attribute the highest degree of 'strictness' (lowest scores) to authority figures within school and home, some interesting sex differences are also evident. Perception of 'Indian/Pakistani women' is a case in point. Asian girls seem to attribute a greater degree of 'strictness' to them than do the boys (-0.39 and -0.15[1] respectively). This may reflect the differential experience of boys and girls within the home. Generally, Asian women are more strict with their daughters than with their sons. This description

1. The figure -0.15 does not appear in table 27D because the entity 'Indian Pakistani women' did not feature amongst those five or six entities which received the lowest factor scores from Asian boys.

would seem to be equally applicable to the attitude of men towards their daughters as compared with their attitude towards their sons, but the greater distance between fathers and daughters may render this aspect less salient to the daughters. Further, the father as head of the household has the formal responsibility for disciplining the younger members of the family. Thus, his authority, in some respects, has a more equal bearing on both daughters and sons and this aspect would seem to be demonstrated by the fact that next to the 'headmaster', the entity 'My father' is seen to be the most 'strict' by both boys and girls.

With regard to teachers, it is interesting that the 'headmaster' and 'male teachers' feature among the 'most strict entities', but 'women teachers' do not. Figures above also indicate that Asian boys tend to consider both 'own' and 'other' ethnic group peers to be the least strict among the 20 entities. Asian girls, on the other hand, seem to regard 'other' ethnic group peers and women, 'own' ethnic group girls, and the entity 'my best friend' as the least strict of all entities.

Summary of section 6.1.2

In summarizing the results of this section, the following points may be made: (1) Asians of both sexes tended to associate their, 'ideal' and 'current' self-image, an 'ideal marriage partner', and the entity 'My mother' most closely with attributes describing a responsible attitude towards the family. However, compared with girls, the boys seemed to evaluate the entity 'My father' much more favourably on this 'familial responsibility' dimension (0.576 and 0.827 factor scores respectively). Conversely, girls compared with boys seemed to rate the entity 'my best

friend' much more favourably (0.673 and 0.368 median factor scores respectively). Further, while the boys appeared to construe all English entities least favourably on this factor, in the case of Asian girls, the least favourably viewed entities tended to be differentiated according to sex, rather than ethnic background.

(2) None of the entities was considered to be very highly 'cosmopolitan' by either of the sexes. Again, 'facets of self' and an 'ideal marriage partner' were regarded by both sexes to be among the most 'cosmopolitan' entities. 'English females' (girls as well as women) appeared to be viewed as being the most 'cosmopolitan' by the boys, whereas Asian girls tended to see 'Indian/Pakistani boys' and an 'ideal marriage partner' to be the 'most cosmopolitan'.

In addition, both sexes seemed to consider 'Asian adults' as well as their 'own parents' to be the least 'cosmopolitan'.

(3) There was strong indication that the 'individualism and independence' dimension was utilized by both sexes to differentiate entities according to ethnic background. English entities were construed as being the most 'individualistic and independent' oriented, whereas the Asian entities were regarded as being the least.

(4) It was found that both boys and girls seemed to consider the authority figures within home and school to be the most 'strict' of all entities. Further, Asian boys seemed to perceive their peers (both 'own' and 'other' ethnic group ones) and 'current self' to be the least 'strict'. Asian girls, on the other hand, were likely to regard 'other' ethnic group peers of both sexes, but only the girls from 'own' ethnic

group to be the least 'strict'

6.1.3 Asian Adolescents' Perceptions of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities.

In the previous section we focussed on entities which obtained the highest and the lowest factor scores on each of the four factors. In this section the primary concern is to identify the most salient aspects of the Asian adolescents' perceptions of the two ethnic/generation categories. The following features would seem to be the most striking.

6.1.3.1 Asian Adolescents' Perceptions of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor I ('Familial responsibility')

(i) A comparison between Asian boys' and girls' perception of their own parents compared with that of the entities 'Indian/Pakistani parents' and 'English parents' showed that the former were viewed much more favourably on this factor than the latter.

Table 28A

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor I

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
Asian boys	0.845	My mother	0.961	Asian girls
	0.828	My father	0.576	
	0.382	Indian/Pakistani parents	0.110	
	-0.379	English parents	-0.379	

As previously noted, the sex difference in the perception of the entity 'My father' would seem to be quite clearly evident.

(ii) A comparison of the factor scores associated with the Asian adolescents' 'own' ethnic group adult and peers indicated that these entities were differentiated primarily according to an entity's gender rather than generation.

Table 28B

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor I

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
Asian boys	0.048	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.455	Asian girls
	0.367	Indian/Pakistani women	0.104	
	-0.22	Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.725	
	0.07	Indian/Pakistani girls	0.336	

It can be seen that although all entities obtained relatively low scores on this 'familial responsibility' factor, the male entities would seem to have received lower scores ('less responsible') than the female entities. It is apparent that the Asian girls seemed to have a more favourable view of males than did the Asian boys.

(iii) A comparison of the Asian adolescents' perceptions of the 'other' ethnic group adults and peers showed that English adults were perceived by both sexes to be more inclined to fulfil their family obligations than were the English boys and girls.

Table 28C

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor I

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
Asian boys	-0.59	English men	-0.82	Asian girls
	-0.432	English women	-0.427	
	-1.15	English boys	-1.22	
	-0.836	English girls	-0.767	

(iv) A comparison of the Asians' perceptions of English and Asian entities indicated that both sexes tended to regard the English as being less oriented towards fulfilling family obligations than the Asians. It will be recalled that many of the English entities featured among those obtaining the lowest scores on this factor (see 6.1.2.1).

6.1.3.2 Asian Adolescents' Perceptions of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor II ('Cosmopolitanism')

(i) The table below shows that the entities 'Indian/Pakistani parents' and 'My mother' were seen to be the least 'cosmopolitan' of all entities by the Asian boys. The Asian girls, on the other hand, seemed to regard their own parents as being more cosmopolitan than 'Indian/Pakistani parents' but less so than 'English parents'.

Table 29A

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor II

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
Asian boys	-0.883	My mother	-0.469	Asian girls
	-0.59	My father	-0.275	
	-0.929	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.976	
	-0.071	English parents	0.156	

(ii) Asian peers were perceived by both boys and girls to be relatively more 'cosmopolitan' than Asian adults.

Table 29B

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor II

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
Asian boys	-0.735	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.599	Asian girls
	-0.83	Indian/Pakistani women	-0.911	
	0.111	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.687	
	-0.229	Indian/Pakistani girls	0.038	

It is also evident that Asian girls found 'Indian/Pakistani boys' to be considerably more 'cosmopolitan' than did the Asian boys.

(iii) Overall, English entities were perceived by the Asians as being relatively more 'cosmopolitan' than their 'own' ethnic group entities, the entity 'Indian/Pakistani' boys being the main exception (compare table below with the Table 29B)

Table 29C

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor II

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
Asian boys	0.059	English men	0.226	Asian girls
	0.445	English women	0.279	
	0.113	English boys	0.130	
	0.549	English girls	0.352	

6.1.3.3 Asian Adolescents' Perceptions of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor III ('Individualism and independence')

(i) As has already been noted, English entities were evaluated by Asian respondents as being the most 'individualistic and independence oriented' and the Asian entities as the least.

(ii) It would seem that their own parents were seen by the Asian respondents as being more 'individualistic and independence' oriented than the generalized entity, 'Indian/Pakistani parents', but much less so than 'English parents'.

Table 30A

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor III

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
Asian boys	-0.171	My mother	-0.459	Asian girls
	-0.217	My father	-0.288	
	-0.537	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.943	
	0.537	English parents	0.743	

It is also evident that 'Indian/Pakistani parents' were seen by the Asian girls as being less 'individualistic and independence' oriented than by the Asian boys.

(iii) Asian boys as well as girls tended to perceive Asian male entities as being more 'individualistic and independence' oriented than Asian female entities. On the other hand, these respondent's view of English entities would seem to have been the reverse of their view of Asian entities.

Table 30B

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor III

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
Asian boys	-0.427	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.393	Asian girls
	-0.805	Indian/Pakistani women	-1.049	
	-0.456	Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.331	
	-0.778	Indian/Pakistani girls	-1.068	
	0.299	English men	0.598	
	0.43	English women	0.779	
	0.201	English boys	0.573	
	0.54	English girls	0.798	

In other words, 'own' ethnic group 'females' were seen to be less 'individualistic' relative to their male counterparts, but the 'English females' were regarded as being more 'individualistic' than 'English males'. Another striking feature of the above table is that Asian girls compared with boys seemed to have regarded female entities of both ethnic background as being considerably less 'individualistic'.

6.1.3.4 Asian Adolescents' Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor IV ('Strictness')

(i) In the view of these Asian respondents, 'Indian/Pakistani parents' and their respective 'fathers' were considerably more 'strict' than their 'mothers' (lower the score, greater the degree of 'strictness').

Table 31A

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor IV

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
Asian boys	-0.269	My mother	-0.065	Asian girls
	-0.569	My father	-0.689	
	-0.481	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.591	
	0.073	English parents	0.415	

(ii) In general all Asian entities would seem to be considered by Asian boys and girls as being slightly more 'strict' than comparable English entities

(iii) In general 'adults' compared with 'adolescents' of both ethnic groups were regarded as being more 'strict'. A notable exception was the Asian girls' perception of the entity 'English women'; this entity was seen to be slightly less 'strict' than 'English boys', albeit more so than 'English girls'.

Table 31B

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor IV

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
	-0.405	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.321	
	-0.154	Indian/Pakistani women	-0.392	
	0.341	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.32	
	0.413	Indian/Pakistani girls	0.564	
Asian boys	-0.052	English men	0.12	Asian girls
	-0.018	English women	0.559	
	0.435	English boys	0.513	
	0.46	English girls	0.642	

6.2 English Respondents' Perceptions of Entities on Factors Obtained from the English Sector of the Sample

The preceding section examined the Asian adolescents' perceptions of entities on the factors obtained from the Asian sample. In this section the focus is specifically on English adolescents' views of the entities on factors obtained from the data provided by the English sample alone. It will be recalled that the first three factors obtained from this sample were comparable but by no means identical to those extracted from the Asians; hence the need to separately examine factor scores for entities on these factors.

6.2.1 Self-Perceptions

6.2.1.1 Self-image on Factor I ('Familial responsibility')

As already noted, high factor scores on this dimension are associated with the following characteristics: 'Are well-behaved', 'Get on well with

their parents', 'Before doing anything, worry too much about what others may think', 'Try to understand other people's way of life', 'Would take good care of their children', 'Take notice of what their parents think', 'Clean', 'Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals', and 'Fair'. Conversely, low scores would reflect the opposite poles of these constructs.

Table 32A

Median factor scores associated with the English respondents' self-image on Factor I obtained from the English sector of the total sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
English boys	0.109	-0.194
English girls	0.488	0.313
All English	0.35	0.069

It is apparent that neither facet of self is associated with a particularly high factor score on this factor. This would seem to suggest that 'familism' as reflected in this factor is not of central importance to these adolescents. Not surprisingly, the girls' facets of self are more highly correlated with the factor than those of the boys. It may be recalled, that in the case of these respondents constructs relating to 'care of aged parents' and 'marital fidelity/infidelity' comprise a separate factor.

6.2.1.2 Self-image on Factor II ('Individualism and independence')

With regard to this factor, high values of the factor scores are associated with the following characteristics: 'Would not wish their parents to choose their husband and wife', 'Would let their children

make their own decisions', 'Like the new ways', 'Not religious', 'Think husbands and wives should treat one another as equals', 'Have a great deal of freedom', 'Clean', 'Independent' and 'Fair'. Low scores, conversely, are more closely associated with the opposite poles of these constructs.

Table 32B

Median factor scores associated with the English respondents' self-image on Factor II obtained from the English sector of the total sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
English boys	0.672	0.6
English girls	0.868	0.683
All English	0.781	0.645

It is evident that these adolescents' self-image is identified more strongly with this factor than with the previous one. The self-image of girls would seem to be more closely associated with this dimension than that of the boys. Further, the discrepancy between 'ideal' and 'current' self-image is greater for girls than for boys. Thus, the English adolescents would seem to view themselves as being fairly highly 'individualistic and independence'oriented . This contrasts with the Asian's view on a similar factor.

6.2.1.3 Self-image on Factor III ('Cosmopolitanism')

High factor scores on this dimension are associated with the following attributes: 'Are in favour of mixed marriages', 'Mix with others', and 'Not strict'. High factor scores, therefore, reflect a greater degree of 'Cosmopolitanism' and vice versa.

Table 32C

Median factor scores associated with the English respondents' self-image on Factor III obtained from the English sector of the total sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
English boys	0.394	0.298
English girls	0.166	0.03
All English	0.033	0.113

These relatively low values of factor scores for both facets of self would seem to suggest that English adolescents do not regard themselves to be particularly 'cosmopolitan'. In this they are not unlike the Asians.

6.2.1.4 Self-image on Factor IV ('Care of aged parents and marital fidelity')

No similar factor, it may be recalled, was identified in the case of the Asians. High factor scores on this factor are associated with the following attributes: 'Are unlikely to take care of aged parents' and 'Would be unfaithful to their husband or wife'. Low factor scores, on the other hand, are associated with a stronger inclination to take care of elderly parents as well as being faithful to one's marriage partner.

Table 32D

Median factor scores associated with the English respondents' self-image on Factor IV obtained from the English sector of the total sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
English boys	-0.425	-0.109
English girls	-1.019	-0.238
All English	-0.728	-0.183

These low values of factor scores suggest that English boys and girls regard themselves as persons who would take care of their aged parents and be faithful to their marriage partner. The ideal self-image of English girls would seem to be identified much more closely with this dimension than that of the boys. This may be due in part to the greater obligation on English girls to take care of aged parents, and the generally stronger pressure on females to be faithful to their husbands. However, there is no such strong sex difference with regard to the perception of the 'current'self-image .

Overall, the foregoing indicates that English adolescents tend to regard themselves as being quite highly 'individualistic and independence' oriented, mildly 'cosmopolitan', only mildly inclined towards certain facets of 'familism' but more strongly so towards'taking care of elderly parents and being faithful to their marriage partners'.

Next we examine the entities which were associated with the highest and the lowest factor scores on these factors.

6.2.2 Comparison of Entities Obtaining the Highest and the Lowest Median Factor Scores

6.2.2.1 Comparison of Entities Obtaining the Highest and the Lowest Median Scores on Factor I ('Familial responsibility')

Table 33A

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor I obtained from the English sector of the total sample

	Highest		Lowest	
Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English boys	Head of our school	0.608	Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.719
	My mother	0.543	English boys	-0.554
	Women teachers	0.464	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.448
	English parents	0.299	English men	-0.429
	English women	0.267	Myself as I am now	-0.194

Table 33A cont'd

Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English girls	My mother	0.526	English boys	-1.079
	Myself as I would like to be	0.488	Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.883
	Headmaster	0.451	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.628
	English parents	0.448	Men teachers	-0.353
	Ideal teacher	0.443	English men	-0.307

This comparison indicates that both sexes seem to regard male entities, irrespective of their ethnic background, to be the least likely to have a positive orientation towards 'familial responsibility'. On the other hand, authority figures such as 'The headmaster', 'My mother', 'Women teachers', 'English parents' etc. are regarded by these adolescents as the most favourably inclined towards the execution of 'familial responsibility'. It is worth noting that while 'own' ethnic group parents are included among the entities associated with the highest scores on this factor, the 'other' ethnic group parents are not.

6.2.2.2 Comparison of Entities Receiving the Highest and the Lowest Factor Scores on Factor II ('Individualism and independence')

Table 33B

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor II obtained from the English sector of the total sample

	Highest		Lowest	
Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English boys	The kind of person I would like to marry	0.717	Indian/Pakistani parents	-1.111
	English boys	0.708	Indian/Pakistani women	-1.109
	Myself as I would like to be	0.672	Indian/Pakistani girls	-0.749
	Myself as I am now	0.601	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.706
	My best friend	0.594	Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.596

Table 33B cont'd.

Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English girls	English boys	0.901	Indian/Pakistani parents	-2.008
	The kind of person I would like to marry	0.87	Indian/Pakistani women	-1.902
	Myself as I would like to be	0.868	Indian/Pakistani girls	-1.522
	My best friend	0.765	Indian/Pakistani men	-1.393
	English girls	0.717	Indian/Pakistani boys	-1.047
	Myself as I am now	0.683		

Clearly, the Asian entities would seem to be viewed by these English adolescents as the least 'individualistic and independence' oriented out of the 20 entities presented to them for evaluation. In contrast, facets of self, 'The kind of person I would like to marry', 'own' ethnic group peers and 'my best friend' are perceived as the most 'individualistic and independence' oriented. This factor, as was also the case with a similar factor computed over the Asian sample, would seem to differentiate entities according to their ethnic background. It is as if the 'English' culture is associated by the adolescents with 'individualism' but the 'Asian' culture is not.

6.2.2.3 Comparison of Entities Obtaining the Highest and the Lowest Scores on Factor III ('Cosmopolitanism')

Table 33C

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor III obtained from the English sector of the total sample

	Highest		Lowest	
Respondent	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English boys	Ideal teacher	0.525	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.294
	Myself as I would like to be	0.394	My father	-0.205

Table 33C cont'd.

Respondent	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English boys	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.363	English parents	-0.218
	Myself as I am now	0.298	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.056
	Women teachers	0.282	My mother	-0.01
English girls	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.631	My father	-0.648
	Indian/Pakistani men	0.181	My mother	-0.533
	Women teachers	0.173	English parents	-0.454
	Indian/Pakistani girls	0.171	English men	-0.305
	English women	0.183	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.277

The relatively low values of even the highest median factor scores above would seem to indicate that these adolescents do not associate particularly high levels of 'cosmopolitanism' with any entity. It is clear that English boys and girls consider parental entities (their own parents as well as English and Asian parents) to be the least 'cosmopolitan'.

6.2.2.4 Comparison of Entities Obtaining the Highest and the Lowest Median Factor Scores on Factor IV ('Care of aged parents and fidelity to the marriage partner')

Table 33D

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor IV obtained from the English sector of the total sample

	Highest		Lowest	
Respondent	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English boys	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.657	Myself as I would like to be	-0.42
	Indian/Pakistani men	0.626	The kind of person I would like to marry	-0.30
	English boys	0.391	My mother	-0.27
	Men teachers	0.239	My father	-0.29
	English parents	0.212	Ideal teacher	-0.21

Table 33D cont'd.

Respondents	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English girls	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.424	Myself as I would like to be	-1.019
	Indian/Pakistani men	0.403	My mother	-0.82
	English boys	0.38	The kind of person I would like to marry	-0.595
	English men	0.153	My father	-0.592
	English girls	0.151	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.481

This table shows that both sexes tend to view male entities most unfavourably on this factor (high scores, in this case, are associated with a lesser inclination towards care of elderly parents etc.). On the other hand, 'Myself as I would like to be', 'The kind of person I would like to marry', 'Ideal teacher' and 'own' parents would seem to be considered by the adolescents as the most likely set of entities to take care of elderly parents, and be faithful to their respective marriage partners.

In summarizing this sub-section, the following points may be made:

(1) English respondents of both sexes tended to view male entities, irrespective of ethnic background, to be the least likely to have a positive orientation towards 'familial responsibility'. On the other hand, entities such as 'The head of our school', 'My mother', 'Women teachers', and 'English parents' were seen to be the most likely people to undertake such responsibility.

(2) All Asian entities were regarded by these adolescents to be the least 'individualistic and independence' oriented. On the other hand, 'facets of self', 'ideal marriage partner', 'own ethnic group

peers and 'my best friend' were associated with the highest median factor scores on this factor.

(3) None of the entities was considered to be particularly 'cosmopolitan' by either of the sexes, although 'Indian/Pakistani' boys obtained a median factor score value of 0.631 from the English girls. Parental entities ('own' parents, English as well as Asian parents) featured most prominently among the entities perceived to be the least 'cosmopolitan'.

(4) With regard to the 'care of aged parents and marital fidelity' factor, it was found that male entities were viewed least favourably on it by both boys and girls. On the other hand, 'Myself as I would like to be', 'The kind of person I would like to marry', 'Ideal teacher' as well as 'own' parents were viewed most favourably.

The next sub-section focuses on the English adolescents' perception of 'ethnic/generational' entities irrespective of whether or not they featured among the entities associated with the highest or the lowest factor scores.

6.2.3 English Adolescents' Perceptions of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities

6.2.3.1 English Adolescents' Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor I ('Familial responsibility')

(i) A comparison between the English respondents' perception of their own parents compared with that of entities 'English parents' and 'Indian/Pakistani' parents showed that in general all these entities obtained low factor scores on this factor. Not surprisingly, the entity 'My mother' was found to be associated with the highest factor score.

Table 34A

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor I

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
	0.543	My mother	0.526	
	-0.06	My father	0.251	
Asian boys				Asian girls
	0.298	English parents	0.448	
	-0.015	Asian parents	-0.097	

(ii) Overall, English entities were more favourably perceived on this factor by both boys and girls than were the Asian entities.

(iii) In general, male entities of both ethnic groups seemed to be regarded by English boys and girls as being relatively less inclined towards 'familism' than female entities.

Table 34B

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor I

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
	-0.429	English men	-0.307	
	0.267	English women	0.353	
	-0.554	English boys	-1.079	
	-0.003	English girls	-0.075	
Asian boys				Asian girls
	-0.448	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.628	
	0.076	Indian/Pakistani women	-0.002	
	-0.719	Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.883	
	0.013	Indian/Pakistani girls	0.308	

The most notable sex difference was evident in the perception of

'English boys'. This entity obtained a much lower score from English girls than from English boys.

6.2.3.2 English Adolescents' Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor II ('Individualism and independence')

(i) It can be seen from the table below that the respondents' own parents were seen by them to be slightly more 'individualism and independence' oriented than the entity 'English parents', although, of course, none of the three entities received a particularly high score on this factor.

Table 35A

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor II

Respondents	Score	Entity	Score	Respondents
	0.334	My mother	0.473	
	0.371	My father	0.404	
English boys	0.103	English parents	0.215	English girls
	-1.111	Indian/Pakistani parents	-2.008	

In comparison with 'English parents', 'Indian/Pakistani parents' would seem to have been construed by these adolescents as being considerably less 'individualistic and independence' oriented.

(ii) English boys and girls seemed to view their 'own' ethnic group peers as being considerably more 'individualistic and independence' oriented than English adults. As regards their view of Asian entities, it would appear that female entities were perceived as being less 'individualistic and independence' oriented than male entities; that is, these entities would seem to have been differentiated first and foremost by gender rather than generation. (See table below).

Table 35B

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor II

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondent
	0.323	English men	0.338	
	0.236	English women	0.404	
	0.708	English boys	0.901	
English boys	0.577	English girls	0.717	English girls
	-0.706	Indian/Pakistani men	-1.393	
	-1.109	Indian/Pakistani women	-1.901	
	-0.596	Indian/Pakistani boys	-1.047	
	-0.749	Indian/Pakistani girls	-1.521	

It is also evident that Asian entities obtained much lower factor scores than did the English entities. Indeed, table 33B had shown that Asians were considered by these respondents to be the least 'individualism and independence' oriented. It is clear that on the whole English girls compared with boys ascribed a lower degree of 'individualism and independence' to Asian entities.

6.2.3.3 English Adolescents' Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor III ('Cosmopolitanism')

It will be remembered that a majority of the entities obtained relatively low factor scores on this factor. The parental generation (including the respondents' own parents, English parents as well as Asian parents) however, was considered to be the least 'cosmopolitan' by both boys and girls. (see table 33C).

6.2.3.4 English Adolescents' Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor IV ('Care of aged parents and marital fidelity')

(i) On this factor English respondents of both sexes seemed to hold a more favourable view of their own mother and father than of the entities 'English parents' and'Indian/Pakistani parents'.

Table 36A

Median factor scores* associated with each entity on Factor IV

Respondent	Score	Entity	Score	Respondents
English boys	-0.277	My mother	-0.820	English girls
	-0.299	My father	-0.591	
	0.212	English parents	0.069	
	0.178	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.480	

* Low factor scores are associated with a greater inclination towards taking care of elderly parents and being faithful to one's marriage partner.

It is also evident from this table that compared with English boys, the girls seem to hold a more favourable view of their own parents as well as of the two generalized parental entities ('English parents', 'Indian/Pakistani parents').

(ii) From the table below it can be seen that Asian male entities compared with all other 'ethnic/generational' entities were perceived least favourably (higher scores) on this factor.

Table 36B

Median factor scores associated with each entity on Factor IV

Respondents	Score	Entity	Score	Respondents
	0.104	English men	0.153	
	0.097	English women	-0.1	
	0.39	English boys	0.38	
English boys	0.147	English girls	0.151	English girls
	0.626	Indian/Pakistani men	0.402	
	0.159	Indian/Pakistani women	0.029	
	0.656	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.424	
	0.213	Indian/Pakistani girls	-0.111	

6.3 Perception of Entities on the Factors Obtained from the Total Sample

The results discussed in section 6.1 and 6.2 indicate that there are similarities as well as differences in the construal of entities by the ethnic/sex groups under consideration. However, direct comparisons between the Asian and the English respondents' views of these entities were not possible as the factors under consideration were computed separately for the two ethnic groups. In order to be able to make such a comparison, this section examines the Asian and the English respondents' perception of entities on factors obtained from the total sample. For purposes of clarity, only a summary of the findings is presented. Detailed tables may be found in Appendix VIII.

6.3.1 Self-perceptions

6.3.1.1 Perception of 'Ideal' and 'Current' Self on Factor I ('Familial responsibility' - high factor scores on the factor are associated with greater responsibility)

The facet of self 'myself as I would like to be' of both ethnic groups obtained high scores on this factor suggesting that execution of family responsibility was considered to be important by both ethnic groups. Within each ethnic group, quite striking sex differences in perception were evident among the English but not among the Asians. Thus, the 'ideal self' of English girls was associated with a much higher value of factor score than that of the boys (1.162 and 0.597 respectively). Lack of a similar sex difference among the Asians may be due in part to the fact that Asian cultures demand an equally strong commitment to the family from both sexes.

The 'current self' of both ethnic groups was associated with lower factor scores compared with 'ideal self' indicating that their current self-image did not match the ideal. Striking sex difference was again evident among the English('Current self' of English boys = 0.305; of English girls = 0.745).

Finally, girls from both ethnic groups emerged as being more family-oriented than the boys.

6.3.1.2 Perception of 'Ideal' and 'Current' Self on Factor II ('Individualism and independence' - high factor scores are associated with greater individualism)

Quite marked ethnic differences were evident in the perception of self on this factor. The 'ideal' as well as 'current self' of Asians obtained very much lower scores than that of the English. Again, sex differences were quite strongly apparent among the English but not among the Asians. Thus, it would seem that English girls compared with English boys regarded themselves to be considerably more 'individualistic and independent'. Further, the ethnic difference noted above would seem to indicate that attributes associated with high scores on this factor such as disinclination towards arranged marriage, freedom, independence, etc. may be less highly

valued by the Asians than by the English. As will be discussed in the next chapter, these attributes are associated with slightly different meanings in the two cultures, and the present results appear to point to such differences.

6.3.1.3 Perception of 'Ideal' and 'Current' Self on Factor III ('Cosmopolitanism')

Ethnic differences in the perception of self on this factor too were quite marked. Asians seemed to have a considerably more 'cosmopolitan' 'ideal' as well as 'current' self-image than the English. Further, compared with Asian boys, Asian girls seemed to regard themselves as being more 'cosmopolitan'. No noticeable sex differences were evident among the English.

6.3.1.4 Perception of 'Ideal' and 'Current' Self on Factor IV ('Social conformism')

Once again, ethnic differences in the perception of self were clearly apparent. The self-image, both 'ideal' and 'current', of the Asians was found to be mildly 'conformist' whereas that of the English was fairly 'non-conformist'. It is interesting that the English respondents regarded themselves as being less 'conformist' than they would ideally like to be.

6.3.2 Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities

6.3.2.1 Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor I ('Familial responsibility')

It was found that each ethnic group perceived the other least favourably on this factor. Further, both ethnic groups seemed to attribute their own parents with a greater sense of responsibility than the generalized parental entities; that is, entities 'Indian/Pakistani parent' and 'English parents' were associated with lower factor scores than 'My mother' and 'My father'. Also, both ethnic groups appear to regard female entities

to be 'more responsible' than male entities.

6.3.2.2 Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor II ('Individualism and independence')

On this factor, entities were clearly differentiated according to the particular ethnic category which they described, suggesting, perhaps that the constructs comprising this factor held culturally specific connotations for the respondents. The Asian respondents were found to perceive themselves and others of their ethnic group as being less 'individualistically' oriented than the English. The English too seemed to consider themselves and other English entities to be more 'individualistic' than Asian entities.

Both Asian and English respondents were found to regard their own parents to be relatively more 'individualistic and independence' oriented than 'Indian/Pakistani parents' and 'English parents' respectively.

While Asian respondents tended to regard 'English females' to be more 'individualistic and independent' than 'English males', their view of 'Asian females' seemed to be that they were less 'individualistic and independent' than 'Asian males'. English respondents on the other hand, appeared to differentiate entities more according to the generation category that these entities represented - i.e. 'adolescents' from each ethnic group were regarded by them as being more 'individualistic and independent' than the 'adults'.

6.3.2.3 Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor III ('Cosmopolitanism')

Both Asian and English respondents appeared to regard 'Asian adults' as well as their 'own parents' to be the least 'cosmopolitan' of the twenty entities. English respondents also included the entity 'English parents'

among those considered to be the least 'cosmopolitan'. Thus it would seem that 'young Asians' were perceived by respondents of both ethnic groups as being more 'cosmopolitan' than 'older Asians'.

It is interesting that adolescents from both ethnic groups appeared to have the view that their parents were not a 'cosmopolitan' group.

Finally, whereas the Asians seemed to regard the 'English' as being mildly 'cosmopolitan' the English respondents tended to view the Asian entities as being rather 'provincial'.

6.3.2.4 Perception of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities on Factor IV ('Social conformism')

It was found that the entities 'Indian Pakistani parents', 'Indian/Pakistani women', 'My mother' and 'My father' were considered by the Asian respondents to be more conformist than 'Indian/Pakistani boys', 'Indian/Pakistani girls' and 'Indian/Pakistani men'. Thus, a greater degree of social conformism was attributed to Asian parents and women. Further, Asian girls were found to ascribe a higher degree of 'social non-conformism' to 'Indian/Pakistani boys' than were the Asian male respondents. In addition, Asian respondents seemed to consider the 'older generation of English' to be more 'conformist' than the 'younger generation'.

English respondents were also found to regard their 'English peers' as being more 'non-conformist' than 'English adults'.

Unlike the Asian respondents who rated their parents as being highly 'conformist', the English respondents were found to regard their parents as being mildly 'non-conformist'.

6.3.3 Perceptions of Teachers

Results indicated that on the whole adolescents in this study did

not have a very favourable view of teachers on the 'familial responsibility' factor. In general, Asian as well as English respondents evaluated 'female teachers'as being comparatively more 'responsible' than'male teachers'.

Teachers received neither very high nor very low scores on the 'Individualism and independence' factor. There was a sex difference in the respondents' perception of teachers on this factor. Asian boys seemed to attribute a lower degree of 'individualism and independence' to both male and female teachers than did the Asian girls. As regards the English respondents, while the English boys were found to regard male teachers as being more 'individualistic' than female teachers, English girls tended to hold the reverse view.

Teachers were regarded as being more 'cosmopolitan' by Asian teenagers than by their English counterparts. No significant sex differences were apparent within each ethnic group. However, when all boys were compared with all girls, boys emerged as having a more favourable view of teachers i.e. teachers were seen to be more of a 'cosmopolitan' group by the boys than by the girls.

Finally, teachers were perceived to be 'mildly conformist' by all adolescents. The headmaster, however, was regarded as being 'quite highly conformist'.

It would seem that adolescents about to leave school may not hold any strongly polarised views of teachers.

Chapter 7

Analysis of the Interview Data: Perceptions of Marriage and Family

Introduction:

Both this chapter and the next, attempt a comparative analysis of the views of adolescents and of their parents on issues relevant to the adolescents both within and outside school. The interviews conducted covered topics related to the adolescents' relationship with their parents (communication with, responsibilities towards and expectations of, etc.) marital relationships (dating, arranged marriages, mixed marriages, extended/nuclear families, divorce, housework etc.) and schools (discipline in schools, truancy, vandalism, single-sex schools, sex-education in schools, school uniforms, teachers etc.). Also included was a question which asked the respondents to describe what they liked most/least about Southall (Appendix V). The last question most often produced responses which reflected the inter-ethnic tensions in the area.

The respondents' attitudes to these issues will be utilized in mapping out homogeneity and heterogeneity in the belief-systems of the two ethnic/generational categories. Furthermore some of the findings presented in the last two chapters will be examined here in the context of a more detailed discussion of marriage and family among the two ethnic groups.

These two chapters are based mainly on data obtained from semi-structured interviews. However, such data were expanded by informal discussions with young people within this age range and with parents known to me through family, friends and acquaintances. The sub-sample has been described in some detail in Chapter 2. To recapitulate, the

adolescents interviewed comprised 26 English (15 boys and 11 girls) and 44 Asians (22 boys and 22 girls). Twenty one of the English and 26 of the Asians were interviewed in schools. A further five English boys were interviewed during a meeting of the Boys Brigade of which they were members. In addition 15 Asian respondents (9 boys and 6 girls) were drawn from a further education centre. The length of residence in Britain of this group was less than two years, and the majority had no experience of the mainstream state school system. They had a very limited knowledge of English and were, therefore, interviewed in their respective mother tongues. A further three Asians were interviewed at a 'Saturday school' where they received extra tuition. This form of tuition was first started by a few teachers on a voluntary basis with the aim of providing additional support in basic language skills to pupils in need of such help. Subsequently this voluntary project came to be supported by the local authority.

With reference to religious and linguistic background, the Asian sub-sample may be classified as follows:

Table 41

Religious and linguistic background of the Asian sub-sample

Religion	Respondents (n=44)	Language	Respondents (n=44)
Christian	1	Gujrati	9
Hindu	14	Malayalam	1
Muslim	7	Punjabi	33
Sikh	22	Urdu	1

It can be seen that a majority of the boys and girls was Punjabi, and

among the Punjabis the Sikhs were the most numerous. Another characteristic of these boys and girls worth bearing in mind is that a majority of them (26) came to Britain before the age of seven and two were born here. Although, strictly speaking, only the two respondents born here may be regarded as being 'second generation', the remaining 24 may also be included in this category because a significant proportion of their primary socialization has taken place in Britain. A comparison, therefore, between the in-school sub-sample and the respondents drawn from the further education centre may be seen to constitute a comparison between the 'second generation' and 'teenage migrants'.

The parent sample consisted of 29 Asian and 15 English pairs of parents. Interviews with them were conducted in their homes, and the mother and father were interviewed together.

This chapter will focus on the respondents' perceptions of marriage and family. It is divided into three sections. The first two sections will outline some of the central features of the marriage and family systems of the two ethnic groups. The third section will attempt to describe and analyse the expressed views of the informants in the study. In this third section, the findings will be presented under following separate headings: courtship, parentally arranged marriage, dowry, mixed marriage, divorce, housework and child-care, 'joint vs nuclear family' and the 'care of aged parents', and communication with parents.

Perceptions of marriage and family

Before an analysis of the interview data is attempted, the more

salient features of the Asian and English family systems will be outlined.

7.1 The Asian Family

7.1.1 The Extended Family System

The diversity of caste, class, religious, regional, linguistic and urban/rural differentiation in the Sub-continent seriously constrains unqualified generalisations about the institution of the family. Though patrilineal and patrilocal family is the family type in most castes and communities, important sections of the population have systems which are matrilineal and matrilocal, and yet others whose systems possess features of both types of organisation; the practice of polygamy and polyandry is also prevalent among certain groups (Indian Social Institute, 1972; Kapadia, 1966; Karve, 1965; Papanek, 1971). These variations notwithstanding, it is possible to identify certain common features of the system, the joint-family form of organisation being the most central. While caste, class, religious, regional, linguistic and urban/rural differences are also present among the Asian families in Britain, the Asian family type here is typically patrilineal.

As a general description of the joint family in the Sub-continent criteria such as co-residency, commensality, holding of property and income in common, allocation of authority according to age and sex, and mutual rights and obligations among family members are considered to be the most important. It is generally acknowledged, however, that due to the size of houses, internal migration within the sub-continent, migration abroad, and tensions within the family, joint families are often divided into separate households. The term 'extended family' referring to kin who may or may not live under the same roof and hold property in common, but who are bound by mutual rights and obligations and subscribe, at least nominally, to a hierarchy of authority among its members is, perhaps,

better suited to describe such a family.

The roots of the traditional joint family and the system of arranged marriage can be traced to an agrarian economy where the unit of production was, in the main, also the unit of consumption. Land, the main item of property in pre-industrial India was not privately owned. Prior to the introduction of individual proprietary rights by the British in the late eighteenth century, the state and the village had shared the produce of the land. The land revenue was collected in kind and was proportionate to the produce rather than fixed in quantity. In his study of the changes in the structure of the Muslim family in the Punjab under British rule, Asad notes that traditionally,

> "... the members of the joint family were bound together by a common interest and a common right, and that they conducted their affairs within defined conditions in accordance with certain rules. The individual could not alienate land because the land was not his alone to alienate. He could not enter into individual contractual relations with others because he had nothing of his own to pledge or offer, and therefore individual obligations did not arise. *Daughters did not normally have a share in the inheritance because strictly speaking there was no inheritance which devolved, but only statuses of male agnates to which adult males succeeded*". (my emphasis) (Asad, 1961: 4).

Male identity was thereby inextricably linked to family status, and status per se became an instrument of competition symbolized in the concept 'Izzat' or family honour. While the male members of the family were direct heirs to the family status, the female status was realized mainly through her relationship with males. Alliances contracted with families of similar or higher status through arranged marriages served to maintain and improve family status. It is worth bearing in mind that Asian women in the Sub-continent are now legally entitled to a share in the family

property, but patterns of relationships may continue to be governed by custom. This is due in part to the fact that the economic factor is only one among many which are relevant. The psychological elements are equally important in shaping the relationships between family members. For instance expectations of reciprocal rights and obligations tend to be inextricably linked with bonds of affection and sentiment. Moreover, the ideology which sustains particular forms of social relations often tends to lag behind economic or legal changes.

Traditionally, authority within an Asian family, as is perhaps, apparent from the foregoing, is allocated according to age and sex. The eldest male as head of the family is vested with greatest authority. Within each age-category, the male is endowed with greater authority, but between age-categories the female has authority over males younger than her. The position of each member is characterized by a multiplicity of roles vis a vis other age categories. As Ross (1961) notes, every person fills a variety of authority positions in his/her lifetime, and many of these may be occupied simultaneously. For instance, a man fitting the position of a father, will at the same time be a husband, a son to his father, a brother to a sister and so on. His authority will vary in all these positions.

Children tend to be integrated into the hierarchy of authority within the family through early participation in the tasks and affairs of adults. Mothers, for instance, may consult their teenage daughters over matters concerning ritual gift giving. Since gift giving operates as a device to maintain boundaries of inclusion and exclusion among families, castes, and communities in accordance with hierarchies of status, such participation facilitates identification with the status of and responsibility for one's family from an early age.

An identity between individual and family goals is an important underlying premise of this system and roles are expected to be played with skill and deftness so as to minimize conflict in the family. To the extent that socialization processes facilitate the development of such an identity, family cohesiveness is maintained and the individual provided with emotional and financial support.

7.1.2 Marriage

As already noted, marriage constitutes an alliance between families rather than a contract between two individuals. These ties between families are maintained throughout life via a complex system of ritual gift-giving. Among the Hindus and the Sikhs, marriage is governed by three main considerations: marriage must be caste endogamous, 'gotra' (clan) exogamous, and unions with certain specified kin should be avoided. While caste endogamy is respected as a general rule, hypergamous union s across castes have been permitted. According to Hindu and Sikh ideals, marriage is a sacrament; divorce and remarriage are, therefore, outside this conception of marriage. Although divorce is now legally available in the Sub-continent, attitudes to it are still largely governed by custom, and the parental generation of Asians in Britain often hold these attitudes. Among the Muslims, marriage must be contracted within a specified kin group, and unions between patrilateral or matrilateral cross or parallel cousins are the preferred type (Saifullah Khan, 1976). Divorce is permissible but is generally not condoned. It is evident from the above that persons wishing to contract inter-caste or inter-religious marriages would face considerable opposition from their families.

In addition to the marriage rules outlined above, other considerations

tend to be equally important in arranging a marriage. These include factors such as the prestige and financial status of the family (the latter is only one among several symbols of prestige); occupation and educational level of the prospective bride and groom, their looks, past conduct, and respective personalities. Extensive enquiries concerning these are made before the arrangements are finalised. Traditionally, the young man and woman did not meet before the wedding, but this custom has been largely abandoned by the Asians in Britain as well as by the more modern families in the Sub-continent. The common practice these days is to allow the prospective couple to meet, albeit under chaperoned conditions.

At the time of marriage, a woman leaves her natal home and joins her husband's family. It is not unknown, however, for the reverse pattern to obtain, as for instance, when a woman may be the sole heir to her father's property which may be substantially more than that to which her husband is entitled. A man may be found to be living with his in-laws also if he migrates from, for example, a village to a city under the sponsorship of his urbanite in-laws, or when he joins his in-laws abroad or in a different part of the Sub-continent from the one where he grew up. This is quite often the case if the woman's parents live in an area where there are better economic opportunities for her husband. My experience in East Africa certainly bear this out: men from the Sub-continent who married Asian women from East Africa would join their wives in East Africa, and the couple would live with the woman's family until such time that they could afford to obtain their own house. Traditional rules, it can be seen, are often bent to suit the exigencies of the situation.

In the event of being deserted or widowed, a woman, according to custom, retains rights to maintenance in her natal home and often close contact with this home is maintained through frequent visits and ritual gift giving. Within the natal home, a woman is outside the system of agnatic rivalry, has considerable freedom, and is generally cherished, especially before marriage.

At marriage, a woman usually receives a dowry from her family. Unlike the wedding presents which couples in the West receive, dowry consists of gifts not only for the bride and groom, but also for other specified kin among the families about to be joined through marriage. These complex patterns of ritualistic gift giving serve to reinforce the system of reciprocal rights and obligations. The dowry may, in part, be seen to constitute a symbolic gesture towards acknowledgement of a woman's share in property. According to Goody (1976), the association between forms of marriage and patterns of property devolution is generalisable across societies:

> "If woman are receivers of 'male' property, either by inheritance or else by dowry, then the nature of the marriages they make will be influenced by this fact. Such influence will be particularly strong when the basic means of production, i.e. land in an agricultural society, is included in this inheritance. Where property is transmitted to women in this way, then there will be a strong tendency to control their marriages...". (Goody, 1976: 3).

For instance, marriages in Victorian England, at least among the upper status groups, tended also to be arranged, and some would maintain that among the upper classes and the aristocracy of Europe, they continue to be 'arranged' even today, albeit subtly. Goody further adds:

> "... If one is attempting to control marriage, it is important to control courtship too, anyhow in upper status groups where property

> is more significant. Choice could be controlled either by arranging a good marriage (which often involved the go-between, if it was outside one's own relatives) or by steering clear of bad ones (which might involve the chaperone). In order to accomplish this end, restrictions are likely to be placed upon contact between persons of opposite sex before marriage. More particularly there will be a tendency to taboo sexual intercourse between them. For early attachments, particularly if they are likely to lead to marriage (which is essentially a jural or legal arrangement), may represent an uncontrolled element in an area of human action where control is seen as essential". (Goody, 1976: 13-14).

The above quote describes precisely the Asian attitudes towards courtship and marriage. Fairly strict restrictions apply to contact between persons of the opposite sex, and pre-marital sex is strongly disapproved of. A breach of these norms by either sex is seen to bring disrepute on the family. It must be pointed out, however, that in the Sub-continent, these restrictions do not have an equal bearing on all sections of society. As Dube points out:

> "These are the respectable norms of the upper castes; the tribes and lower castes, on the one hand, and the urban elite on the other, are not rigorously governed by them. The tribes and the lower castes permit considerable freedom to the girls before marriage, some of them even recognising pre-marital sexual freedom formally or tacitly. In many such communities girls are married well past the age of puberty ..., in some families of the upper strata of the urban elite, the freedom allowed is very considerable indeed". (Dube, 1963: 182).

However, most of the Asians in Britain are neither lower caste (and even those who are, tend to aspire to the norms of the upper status groups) nor tribal in origin; nor were they members of the urban elite prior to migration. In the main, they are neither from the poorest sections of the Sub-continent, nor from the richest; as such, their attitudes towards marriage and family are likely to be very similar to those described by Goody.

7.1.3 Relationship Between Husband and Wife

It will be apparent from the foregoing that the relationship between the husband and wife within this system of marriage is substantially different from the conjugal relationship associated with the nuclear family type. For example, within the context of an extended family, the conjugal relationship does not constitute the most important relationship; rather it is one among several other equally important ones, such as that between father and son, son and mother etc. The couple's foremost loyalty is expected to be to the family, rather than to each other. Decisions are made jointly with other members of the extended family and not merely between husband and wife. For companionship too, the husband and wife are much less reliant on one another than couples in the West: men and women tend to spend a greater part of their time with members of their own sex both within and outside the family. As a result a couple's emotional and psychological dependence upon the conjugal relationship is considerably less than within a nuclear family. Further, when incompatible personalities may be joined in marriage, the extended family support system is able to diffuse potential conflict or else able to manage it through informal 'counselling' within the family and community. The elders, mainly, but peers also, will appeal to the couple to be more understanding and generous towards one another for the sake of the family. This appeal to one's sense of obligation to the family usually bears fruit because early socialization fosters the development of such loyalty. The couple will usually not view persons offering advice as intruders; rather the advice-giving function is seen as a legitimate part of their roles. It can be seen, therefore, that even as intimate a relationship as between a husband and a wife is not characterized by exclusiveness and strict privatization.

Although, theoretically, a woman's position is subordinate to that of her husband, in practice, depending on her personality and ability to

influence her husband or other members of the family, she can be the power 'behind the throne'. Her authority within a joint-family household may be closely related to the length of time she has spent in it as well as to the ordinal position of her husband vis a vis his siblings. As Ross (1961) notes, in a traditional family:

> "She entered her husband's home in a completely subordinate role, particularly if she married as a child. Her position improved when she became the mother of children and when she gave birth to a son she was given some 'esteem in the family, a greater degree of independence and the right to have her voice heard in the women's quarter'. If she was the wife of the eldest brother, she would eventually be expected to assume complete authority in the domestic sphere ... Later, as grandmother, should her husband die, although theoretically subordinate to her eldest son, she might have to take over the complete authority of the whole joint family". (Ross, 1961: 101-102).

It is also worth bearing in mind that a conjugal relationship tends to become more equal with age. An elderly couple heading a joint family tend to be accorded equal respect by the junior members. Quite often the elderly man will have been relieved of his financial responsibilities by his elder sons. Similarly, his wife will no longer be expected to undertake much housework which will now be the responsibility of the daughters-in-law. Thus, the elderly couple will have more time for companionship which they may utilize in playing with their grandchildren, discussing family and community matters, gossiping, visiting friends and relations and so on.

Formal responsibility for the care of the elderly resides with the male members (sons, nephews etc.) of the family. Most parents would not wish to be looked after by their married daughters because this would imply an abdication of responsibility by their sons - an act which would be seen to bring disrepute on the family. However, these strictures do

not always apply to the same degree among Asians abroad, and parents who either do not have a son, or whose sons might not be prepared to look after their parents, could well be cared for by their daughters.

7.1.4 Relationship Between Parents and Children

The detailed patterns of this relationship vary considerably among families. As a general rule, young children are treated with considerable leniency and affection. From an early age, a child learns to relate to several authority figures within the extended family. In a joint household, child-care tends to be the collective responsibility of all the women in the family. The relationship between a father and his children, especially between him and his daughters, is often characterized by reserve. On the other hand, the relationship between the mother and her children is usually very intimate. Among young, married couples in Britain there is a tendency for the Asian man to participate in child-care to a much greater extent than in the country of origin and consequently, the relationship between the father and his child might have become more akin to that normally found between a mother and her child.

With the onset of puberty, contact between members of the opposite sex tends to be limited, although families differ in the degree and type of control which they exercise over their adolescent children. In comparison with the boy, the girl experiences more restrictions, and her movements are more closely watched. This is mainly because a girl who acquires a reputation, no matter how undeservedly, for being 'loose' will not be able to secure a good match, and this will reflect poorly on the whole family. In other words, the family honour will be at stake. The loss

of virginity prior to marriage, for instance, is a great taboo. The Asian families, therefore, tend to be protective about their girls, and in the face of Western influence which many might regard as being too permissive, are likely to become even stricter than they would have been in the country of origin. As in most societies, double standards apply, and a boy is permitted considerable freedom of movement, but he too is expected to conform to the more centrally important customs such as those associated with marriage.

The preceding description of the extended family will have highlighted the fact that, in its ideal form, it represents a corporate group which is responsible for the material, emotional and psychological welfare of its members. It may not always function smoothly, indeed several relationships within it, e.g. between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, or between wives of two brothers, are often characterized by tension. But, sanctioned as this institution is by religion and custom, it is able to elicit substantial loyalty from its members whose early socialization fosters strong identification with it. The processes of ego-development in this context are bound to be different from those operating in the British social milieu which values individuality, self-assertion and independence. This is not to suggest, however, that an Asian family does not encourage personal initiative, but rather that such initiative is expected to be undertaken not for self-interest but for the common good of the family. Thus, if there were to be a genuine conflict of interest between what an individual might wish to do and what his/her family would approve of, such a person is likely to face a serious dilemma. On the one hand,

he/she may wish to follow his/her own inclinations, on the other, he/she will be aware that such an action might lead to a break with the family. Withdrawl of support by the family is likely to leave his/her ego very vulnerable.

It must be reiterated again that the above is a general typology. In practice, there are considerable variations in the family patterns of different castes, classes, regional groups etc. Moreover, the institution of the family is never static, but constantly changing.

7.2 The English Family System

Like its Asian counterpart, the English family too is a heterogenous category. Families differ considerably between classes, and to a lesser degree between regions. Fletcher (1962) notes that class differences in the organisation of the family in Britain were most clearly marked during the period preceding the more rapid transformation of Britain to a predominantly industrialized and urbanized community. In contemporary Britain, while class differences remain important (Bott, 1971; Pearson, 1976; Young and Wilmott, 1962), it is possible to delineate certain salient features of the family which could be regarded as being somewhat uniform throughout society.

The first important feature to be noted is that, in the main, the family is of the nuclear type. Typically such a household will comprise a husband and wife, their unmarried children, and, in some instances, an elderly parent. The English family, like the Asian, has patriarchal origins, but in contemporary Britain authority within the family tends to be distributed on a more equal basis between the husband and wife; it is thought, however, that this pattern is probably more typical of the

middle class rather than of the working class families.

In contrast to the Asian family, the English family is likely to be characterized by an absence of bounded kinship units such as lineages and clans, and of clearly defined rules of descent:

> "In our society there are no clear rules as to what we mean by 'relatives' or 'kindred'. By definition these are not bounded units since they are based on Ego's definition of the situation. Thus the picture of the kinship universe is one of increasing fuzziness at the edges and more definite, but still flexible, notions of duty, reciprocity, closeness (with the possibilities of conflict) nearer the centre". (Morgan, 1975: 206-207).

A nuclear family, however, is not necessarily isolated, as the studies cited above, and others reviewed by Bott (1971) have shown. These studies clearly demonstrate the importance of kinship ties in structuring the patterns of relationships in both the middle class and the working class English families. On the whole, family networks among the long established working class communities, according to these accounts, are likely to be the most closely knit; a great deal of face to face contact between the family members is likely to occur and in times of need, relations will provide considerable mutual help and assistance. Informal social controls among these communities may often be quite stringent, leaving little room for non-conformity. In this respect, they are not unlike those sections of the Asian populations in Britain which have migrated from rural areas. As already discussed in Chapter 3, during the period preceding the second World War, Southall, according to some of my respondents, was very much an established working class town. Since the war, however, many younger English families have moved out of the area with the result that kinship networks nowadays tend to be comparatively more fragmented.

In comparison with their working class counterparts, middle class

families, are likely to be geographically more mobile, and as a result will often be living away from their kin. Consequently, they are less likely to be directly affected by the informal social controls which operate in the long established communities. Nevertheless, kin provide a sense of belonging, mutual help, and often substantial financial assistance. Providing financial assistance to kin, of course, is an important feature of the Asian family systems as well. Indeed, during the early phase of migration, when building societies were reluctant to offer credit to the Asians, they bought houses primarily with the assistance of kin. As the tradition of home-ownership among the established working class families in the area was rather weak, this initiative on the part of Asians was, and continues to be resented by the whites in the area.

It will be evident from the foregoing that the main difference between the family organization of the two ethnic groups lies less in the importance of kin per se than in the primacy of kinship obligations as compared with self-interest. Among the Asians, the interest of the family takes precedence over the interest of the individual. Personal initiative is encouraged and rewarded as long as it does not pose a threat to the unity of the family. The English, on the other hand, inculcate individuality and independence from an early age. That the adolescent respondents in the present study also regarded this emphasis on individuality to be a key variable in distinguishing between the two ethnic groups was very clearly illustrated by the factor analysis of the questionnaire data. (See Chapters 5 and 6). It will be remembered that one of the factors yielded by the factor analysis of that data seemed to reflect precisely

this dimension, and was labelled 'individuality and independence' factor. It included constructs concerned with independence, freedom, acceptance/rejection of arranged marriages, the degree to which the respondents would permit/not permit their children to make their decisions, and so on. It was found that on this factor the Asians appeared to perceive themselves and others of their own ethnic group as less 'individualistically' oriented than the English. The English respondents corroborated the Asians' image of the two ethnic groups. That is, the English construed themselves and other English entities as being more 'individualistic and independence' oriented than the Asians. It was interesting that adolescents of both ethnic groups regarded themselves as more 'individualistic and independent' than adults of their own ethnic group, including their parents. In the case of young Asians, this perceived generational difference might point to an actual change resulting, in part at least, from exposure to British social values.

In this section I have described, albeit in a somewhat crude fashion, those features of the Asian and English family structures which are most salient for the present comparison. The next section will be concerned with the adolescents' and their parents' perceptions of marriage and family. Wherever possible, an ethnic as well as a generational comparison will be made.

٦.3 Asian and English Adolescents' and Their Parents' Views on Marriage and Family.

٦.3.1 Courtship

Since courtship is an accepted custom among the English, and courtship patterns per se were not the focus of the study, questions relating to this issue were not systematically pursued with the English

respondents. This section, therefore, deals with the responses of the Asians only.

Asian adolescents' views on courtship

It is evident that courtship as a socially approved custom does not feature in the traditional Asian conception of marriage. The Asian teenagers in Southall learn from a very young age that going out with the opposite sex will incur censure not only from the family but also from Asian adults in the street. Such relationships therefore, tend to be conducted secretly. Attitudes of respondents in the study towards 'going out' varied considerably and would seem to be strongly influenced by the prospect of their marriages being arranged by the families. Many felt that courtship was futile if one were not going to be permitted to marry a person of one's own choice, while others seemed to take the view that in order not to feel left out from the courtship game, 'one might as well do what the others do as long as the parents don't find out'. The individuals typical of the latter category tended to meet their partners during lunch breaks or after school and a few would 'bunk' classes for this purpose. Some girls were reported as expressing a preference for going out with older boys from outside school; boys with cars seemed most popular partly because the vehicle provides a degree of anonymity.

Traditional norms against liaisons between different castes or religions did not appear to constitute a barrier in the minds of these young people. This appeared to be due in part to the temporary nature of these relationships. An overwhelming majority did not expect these to result in marriage. Courtship, therefore, tended to be seen as an end in

itself rather than a prelude to marriage. Hence relationships between Hindus and Sikhs, Sikhs and Moslems, Punjabis and Gujeratis etc. were not disapproved of. It is worth pointing out in this connection that these respondents have grown up without the immediate and direct socialising influence of the institutions of the Sub-continent. As a result, they have little experience or detailed knowledge of caste or religious hierarchies and divisions as they operate in those countries. They do not, therefore, seem to attach as much significance to these boundaries as do their parents.

'Inter-racial' relationships between members of the opposite sex within the school context were found to be extremely rare. This may have been due to a number of factors. Firstly, the perceived cultural differences were found to act as a barrier. Secondly, there was evidence that, in general, a lower status was ascribed by the white adolescents to going out with 'coloured' persons. The perception of this attitude of the Whites by the Asians further contributed to the avoidance of 'inter-racial' dating. Thirdly, the Asian young people do not always possess a detailed knowledge of the Western courtship rituals. As a result, they may develop a rather stereo-typical view of these relationships as being characterized by permissiveness of the type portrayed on television. Not all adolescents held such a view, but in the case of those who did, especially the girls, it acted as a deterrent against 'inter-racial' dating.

When the above responses of the in-school sample were compared with the views of adolescents who were attending the further education centre (i.e. the 'teenage migrants'), it was found that the latter category of respondents were very categorical in their disapproval of pre-marital romantic involvements on the part of Asian boys and girls. Indeed many condemned the 'corrupting' influences of the Western culture with a great deal of vehemence. Yet, in practice, quite a few would spend their break-time with members of the opposite sex who might either

be their fellow-students or visitors from a nearby school. In the main, it was Asian girls rather than boys who visited from the nearby school. A number of boys from the F.E. centre informed me that they found these girls, who had grown up in England, overwhelming in their approach, even offensive, yet the boys did not seem to reject the girls' overtures. They tended to resolve this apparent conflict between ideology and practice by regarding these girls as not very 'respectable'. These girls, on the other hand, were often very genuine in their sentiments and having grown up in Britain, found nothing amiss in their own conduct. The other side of the coin was that when an Asian girl brought up in England was being merely friendly with one of my male respondents from the F.E. centre, he mistook her friendliness for romantic interest because, according to him, a girl would otherwise not 'talk to him that way'. In other words, due perhaps to his traditional upbringing in a village prior to migration, he found it rather difficult to accept that their relationship could be one of 'just friendship' without any romantic connotations about it. At the time of the interview he was feeling extremely rejected. Such misunderstandings in a very sensitive area of human interaction can sometimes lead to rather unhappy consequences. Although both parties might be Asian, they could be operating from rather different value perspectives. Clearly the Asian adolescent who has grown up in Britain has internalized certain social attitudes which may not form part of the repertoir of his/her counterpart who grew up in the Sub-continent.

Asian parents' views on courtship

Not surprisingly, a majority of the Asian parents disapproved of

'dating'. This opposition was quite logically connected with their view of the arranged marriage system as being the most appropriate for their children. They were very concerned that their offspring do not acquire a bad reputation (which they inevitably would if they were 'going out') as this would spoil the son or daughter's marriage prospects. Moreover, the parents feared that Asian boys who go out with girls, rarely contemplate marrying them. Since a majority of the boys I spoke to expected their marriages to be arranged, this fear would seem to be well grounded in reality.

Not all Asian parents, however, were opposed to courtship: at least seven fathers were not categorically so. One father suggested that he would find courtship acceptable, "so long as the young people understand what they should and shouldn't do". He added: "I would not mind if my daughters went out, but they have only recently arrived from India. They are more Indian than Westernized". In a separate interview, his daughter corroborated this statement and informed me that, on a number of issues, her father was more liberal than she was. A second father seemed to feel that 15-16 year olds were too young to 'date' but older adolescents who, according to him, would be mature enough to understand their responsibilities to their families, should be permitted to socialize with the opposite sex. His wife seemed less enthusiastic about the prospect. In a third case, the husband was opposed but the wife seemed to think that the young should be given the opportunity to mix with the opposite sex. In all these seven cases, it was evident that the parents envisaged courtship to take place under chaperoned conditions. They would be reluctant, they said,

to allow the boy and girl to spend a great deal of time alone away from home. A number of these parents informed me that they give their children the opportunity to meet members of the opposite sex through family and friendship networks. When the families visited one another, the adolescent boys and girls were permitted to meet and talk freely. One set of parents indicated that they and their circle of friends often organize private discoes for their teenage children. Through these informal arrangements these parents were able to ensure that their children were introduced to individuals who were socially acceptable to the parents. This was an important consideration because the parents did not, in the main, wish their children to marry someone from a normally exogamous group. At this stage, it must be pointed out that three out of these seven families came from East Africa, one from Singapore, and three from India. Further, two of the three families from India had resided here for 20 years, and the third had been here for 10 years. In addition, all but two of the families were middle class. This would seem to indicate that there may be a correlation between the parents' attitudes to courtship and thei social class background and/or length of residence in Britain.

In conclusion, it can be suggested that while no 'second generation' teenage respondents disapproved of courtship in principle and an overwhelming majority wished they had the freedom to go out with the opposite sex, most were cautious about actual involvement. There is, however, a minority who have begun to court other Asians. In comparison, the 'teenage migrants' were opposed in principle, but a small number among these were 'meeting' members of the opposite sex during school hours.

A majority of the parents were found to disapprove of courtship, but a minority seemed to favour the idea of chaperoned mixing between boys and girls.

7.3.2 Parentally Arranged Marriages

This system of marriage has already been outlined earlier. Such marriages are seen to cement bonds between two families, and not merely between two individuals. This is not to suggest, however, that personal characteristics of the prospective couple are ignored. Indeed, with the assistance of a go-between who is known to both the families, even the very orthodox families attempt to match the young man and woman in terms of their looks, personality, education level etc. Among the more modern families in the Sub-continent as well as among an overwhelming majority of Asian families in Britain, the couple are almost invariably allowed to meet at least once. The degree and the type of chaperoning under which the meeting may take place will vary considerably between families. As Parekh (1974) has noted,

> "Parentally arranged marriages cover a wide variety of situations, ranging from those where parents simply impose on their children a spouse they have never seen before, to those where they formally sanction a relationship that may have been informally developing for a long time". (p.9)

Asian adolescents' perceptions of parentally arranged marriages

It is generally believed that since the Asian young person in Britain is persistently exposed to an alternative western model of marriage based on individual choice, he/she will wish to emulate this model, and in doing so will reject the parentally arranged system of marriage; further, that the second generation teenager is likely to be more inclined

in this direction than his counterparts who has lived in Britain for a relatively short period. This hypothesis received only partial support in this study.

First, although, in comparison with the 'second generation' Asians, a majority of the recent arrivals were indeed found to display a greatly more favourable attitude to the arranged marriage system, it became evident that there was a correlation between the degree of 'favourableness' expressed and the rural/urban background of the respondents prior to migration. Thus, for instance, the responses of the 'teenage migrants' with urban backgrounds (two from Delhi, one from Karachi, one from Kampala, one from Nairobi) were found to be similar to those of the 'second generation' teenagers even though the former had been here for less than two years. It should be stressed, however, that having an urban background prior to migration, may not, by itself, be a sufficient condition for the development of such attitudes. The fathers of these particular recently arrived young Asians had all been employed in white collar occupations in the country of origin. Factors such as these would also be important. Nevertheless, it can be suggested that the difference between the 'second generation' and the 'recent arrivals' was more marked when the latter were of rural background.

Second, the views of the 'second generation' regarding arranged marriages indicated that, in the main, the influence of the Western model was apparent at the level of ideology rather than envisaged practice. That is, the boys and girls professed to be against the idea of arranged marriages as evidenced by statements such as, "We should be left to make

our own choice. It should be up to us, it is we who are going to spend our lives with the husband, not the family", but did not seem to reject the possibility of their own marriage being arranged by the parents. Nor did they seem to be unduly concerned about such a prospect. Only three respondents indicated that they would be prepared to marry someone of their own choice against the parents' wish.

This discrepancy between what the 'second generation' ideally preferred and in reality were likely to do, might be due in part to the following:

1) Socialisation within the home contributes to the development of a set of values according to which the interest of the family takes precedence over the individual's own interest. While the Asian adolescents growing up in Britain do not always share the depth of their parents' commitment to the norms of the extended family system, their identification with the family prestige ('Izzat') remains strong. Since the rejection of an arranged marriage would bring disrepute on the family, most Asian teenagers tend to accept an arranged marriage. The ones I spoke to often made reference to the gossip which would ensue among kin and family friends, both here and in the country of origin if they refused to marry according to custom. "People will gossip that so-and-so's son or daughter has done this" was a typical comment made by these boys and girls. They would add that they did not wish to 'let down' or 'disgrace' the family.

2) A majority of the respondents seemed confident that they would not be forced into a marriage by their parents. The likely pattern

of events which they outlined to me was that they would be introduced to a suitable young man/woman whom they would be able to meet and talk with under chaperoned conditions. Should they find the match unsuitable, they would be permitted the right to refuse. A number of adolescents, notably those with middle class background, indicated that their parents were unlikely to oppose marriage with an individual selected by the young people themselves provided he/she had the appropriate background in terms of social class, religion, and caste. A few respondents indicated, also, that their parents would be willing to ignore at least a few of the traditional rules governing marriage. One Hindu girl of Kshatriya caste, for example, informed me that she would be permitted, if she chose to, marry a Sikh Kshatri, or someone from one of the higher Hindu castes.

3) A majority of the adolescents expressed implicit or explicit faith in the parents' judgement and desire to do the best for their children. The following two quotes are illustrative of this point:

"I don't mind if they choose, because so far they have made a lot of decisions for me and they haven't made any wrong ones. So I don't mind - parents want the best for their children".

"They know better than us. They know what you are like and what sort of a girl you need, who will look after you and respect you. But we just go for looks and then you get plenty of problems with her".

4) Many Asian teenagers are not socialized into the rituals and mechanics of finding a marriage partner. Although some of them may have a casual relationship with someone at school, they quite often feel inadequately prepared for the difficult task of selecting a partner for life. This feeling on their part may be summarized by the

following quotes:

"I myself wouldn't know how to go about getting married. I wouldn't know much because I don't go out with girls".

"Most Indian people are shy. I mean, the boys depend on their parents all the time, so do the girls. It's been going on for generations. I don't think they can stop it. It'll go on for a little while yet".

5) A majority of these respondents felt that arranged marriages were more likely to succeed than those based on personal choice. As one boy put it, "In the western world, people who choose their own brides have more divorces than arranged marriages". This perceived higher rate of successful arranged marriages was attributed primarily to the positive effect of the support provided by the family: "They (the family) sort of expect them to work out, and they help you out. That's the way it has always been. That's what you have communities for. They (the marriages) are expected to work out and they usually do".

6) It was also suggested by the boys and girls that in a community where the arranged marriage system was the norm, a marriage based on personal choice would be subjected to many conflicting pressures. If such a marriage failed, they said, the couple, rather than the social pressures bearing upon their marriage would be held responsible, and little support for the couple would be forthcoming from the respective families. On the other hand, if an arranged marriage failed, the family would share in the blame and would continue to extend assistance and help to their son or daughter.

7) The importance of the emotional and psychological support provided

to the individual by a close-knit family structure cannot be underestimated. An Asian child grows up in an atmosphere of considerable affection. These bonds of affection and sentiment are inextricably linked with notions of mutual rights and obligations between members of the family. Conformity tends to be rewarded by continued supply of warmth and affection. An individual contemplating marriage against the wishes of the family is bound to experience guilt for incurring disrepute on the family, but equally, he/she will be apprehensive about the possible withdrawal of support by the family. Indeed, an overwhelming majority of the informants indicated that if it came to a choice between the family and a boyfriend/girlfriend, they would opt for the former.

The combined effect of these factors may be seen to result in a willing acceptance by the teenagers of the prospect of their marriages being arranged, even when they may profess a preference for marriages based on personal selection and romatic love.

Indeed, in the case of a majority of respondents, there was little evidence of conflict or stress associated with this theoretically conflictual situation. For a small minority, however, this was not the case, and certain mental distress on their part was detectable. One 15 year old Sikh girl who had resided in Southall since the age of 3 referred to the conflict as follows:

"I think there is a problem here, because where our background is one of strictness, what we are faced with is so free. Naturally we are attracted to freedom, so we want to go that way. But there's a barrier between the two and we are stuck in-between, and we are not always sure which way to go. If you choose the freer life you get

> the problem of breaking up with your parents, and that's really bad because they have brought you up. Also, although you know that people date, they fall in love, they get married, what you don't know about are the problems they face when they get married because that is when people show their weakest points. On the other hand, if you marry someone your parents have chosen for you, he may be from another country (i.e. the Sub-continent) so perhaps he is not as good as you in speaking English or something like that. Immediately you degrade him, because the wife is at a higher level, and that is unbalanced. You may not have much in common. That's a great problem".

This girls' father was dead, but she seemed quite certain her mother would consult her about her marriage. Since she was planning to go to college after taking her 'O' level examinations, I asked how she would deal with the possibility of meeting a fellow student with a different religious and caste background from herself whom she might decide to marry. She rather sadly replied that she would try to avoid becoming involved with an individual who might be unacceptable to her family. Despite such caution, should a relationship nevertheless develop, she indicated that she would rather hurt herself by not marrying him than hurt her mother. Similarly a boy of 16 who had been here for 12 years informed me that he had a girlfriend whom he would in due course like to marry but that in actual fact his marriage will be arranged: "I'll have to (have an arranged marriage). It's not that I'll want to. I'll have to. You cannot get out of it. If you married someone you liked you'll think you were letting your parents down". Another case was that of a Hindu girl whose boyfriend was a Muslim. For historical reasons (outlined in Chapter 3) marriages between Hindus and Muslims elicit very strong disapproval from both religious groups. This girls' brother who was attending the same school as her, had recently learnt about the relationship, and had passed on the information

to his parents who were seriously upset by it. As a result the parents had imposed quite serious restrictions on her movements; whereas previously she had been allowed to visit her friends, go shopping or go to the library entirely on her own, now she had to be accompanied by her mother or a sibling. She seemed aware that, as a strict Hindu, her father was unlikely to sanction her marriage to a Muslim. She hoped to take a degree at a university or a polytechnic, and only after completing this course of studies did she plan to discuss the matter of her marriage with her parents. It is difficult to predict whether her friendship with her boyfriend would survive that length of time, but at the time of the interview she seemed to be under considerable stress. Despite strong loyalty to the boyfriend, she could not face up to the prospect of inflicting distress on her parents: "If our parents refuse, neither of us will marry another. That way we won't hurt our parents". These examples highlight the dilemmas faced by Asian teenagers who may wish to contemplate marriage without the approval of parents. As discussed earlier, in most instances loyalty and affection for the family wins.

It will be remembered that three respondents (one boy and two girls) had indicated that they would be willing to defy their parents if they met someone whom they wanted to marry. The boy among these was a 15 year old Gujerati who appeared to be critical of a number of social institutions. He claimed to be an athiest, was opposed to social injustice and believed in a socialist society. He found certain aspects of the arranged marriage system opressive, and opposed the system on those grounds. A subsequent interview with his parents indicated that, in any case, they did not intend

to force him into a marriage against his wish. They informed me that although the would be unhappy if he married outside their community, they would not reject him. One of the two girls in this category of respondents was born in Southall. She was 15 and was a Sikh by religion. She expressed her views as follows: "If I like someone, and my mum and dad disagree, I don't care, I'd marry him regardless. I wouldn't really care what my parents said or what they might think". However, she added that she was not opposed to the idea of her parents looking for a marriage partner for her, and that should they happen to select someone to whom she took a liking, she would be happy to marry him. Her mother, who at the time of the interview was only 32, seemed to be very sympathetic to the views of her daughter. It emerged that she would be willing to accept either a Sikh or a Hindu as a son-in-law. Her husband could not be interviewed because he was engaged in shift work, but if his views were not too dissimilar from his wife's, it is evident that this pair of parents was likely to be quite flexible on this issue. The second girl was also a 15 year old Sikh. She was born in a village in the Punjab and came to Britain at the age of five. She articulated her views on this subject as follows: "If I really made a good relationship, and really loved him, then I'd really go away with him". According to her, her parents were very strict and she resented them. Since she did not want me to interview her parents, it was not possible to ascertain their views on the matter. It was interesting, however, that unlike the other two respondents, this girl did not wish to marry anyone other than a Sikh of her caste. Should she decide to marry a young Sikh chosen by herself,

it would be unlikely that her parents would object simply because not only would he have the appropriate religious background but also the 'right' caste background.

These three cases cited above would seem to indicate that if brought into conflict with their parents, these adolescents may well decide to follow their own inclinations and go their own ways. Even in these cases, however, conflict may never become acute because, as already pointed out, in two of the cases conflict was unlikely to ensue because the parents seemed to be quite flexible in their stance, and in the third case the girls' preference for a religious and caste-endogamous marriage might either make her parents sanction a relationship started by her, or she might be persuaded to accept a parentally arranged marriage.

From the results presented in this section, it may be concluded that disparate belief systems deriving simultaneously from the Asian and British cultural norms may co-exist within the minds of Asian young people, but due to a combination of factors, some of which were discussed above, behaviour may often be governed by the former.

Asian parents' views on arranged marriages

In response to questions concerning the arranged marriage system, the parents were unanimous in declaring that although they regarded this form of marriage to be the most appropriate for their children, they would not force their children into a marriage against the latter's wishes; every parent indicated that they would consult their off-spring. A closer examination of the data revealed that the parents could be divided into three categories:

i) those who thought that the main responsibility for selecting a marriag partner for the son or daughter should reside with the parents.

ii) those in whose view the selection process should be a joint undertaking between the parents and the child.

iii) those who believed that marriage should be based on personal choice but that the parents should be consulted for advice.

It was found that 10 pairs of parents could be classified under the first category, 16 in the second, and not surprisingly, only 3 in the third. In fact the third category included only fathers, the attitude of their wives being more similar to those of the parents in the first category.

The parents in the first category were unequivocally committed to the traditional rules governing marriage; hence they were opposed to any form of mixed marriage. Whilst they would pay some attention to the wishes of their child they were likely to base their selection primarily on criteria which would enhance the prestige of the family. They informed me that should a child of theirs decide to marry against their wishes, they would completely break-off relations with him/her. They added however, that their children were dear to them and they would do their best in selecting a partner who would be acceptable to the off-spring. It may be worth pointing out that as regards the country of origin, this set of parents were as likely to come from the Sub-continent as from Africa. Their major distinguishing characteristic was that, in the main, they were older in age - several of them were in their fifties, and two pairs were in their sixties.

The pa ents in the second category were considerably more liberal in their attitude. Their idea of an arranged marriage encompassed substantial freedom of choice for the children. As noted earlier, they tended to regard the selection process as, more or less, a joint venture between parents and children. They would be willing, they said, to sanction a relationship developed independently of them, provided the individual selected by their child had an acceptable background. A number of them were willing to abandon at least some of the traditional marriage rules, most notably the rules prescribing strict cast endogamy (they were willing to extend this type of endogamy to embrace the higher castes); religious endogamy (to be extended to permit marriages between Hindus and Sikhs); and in the case of Muslims certain kinship rules (to be extended to embrace marriage with non-kin). This category of parents were generally quite sympathetic to an adolescent's desire to have the freedom to select his/her own marriage partner, but explained that they themselves were subject to pressure from their respective communities. Non-conformity in this matter would result in their child being penalised, for he/she would then not be able to attract a good match. A majority of these parents did not believe in strict seclusion between the sexes, and a number of them gave their children the opportunity to meet members of the opposite sex through family and friendship networks. This is not to suggest that parents in the first category subscribed to complete seclusion, but they tended to favour a greater degree of segregation between the sexes. It is worth noting that parents in the second category were quite mixed both in terms of their country of origin and social class.

The parents in the third category were quite unusual in their professed non-conformism on this issue, as is illustrated by the following quotes:

> "My gut feeling is that I am against arranged marriages. I believe in personal independence, and believe that the individual is more important than the group. However, I have strict requirements

of the individual, that is I do not believe in irresponsible license".

"I would let my son and daughter marry anyone. What my relations may say about it isn't of as much consequence to me here as it would be in the Punjab".

"They can choose anyone of any colour, caste or creed, but with our approval. I take my kids wherever I go so they can meet people their own age, or they may meet someone at University. Ideally, I would prefer them to marry another Indian, but if they are in love with someone, I wouldn't want to ruin their lives".

All three fathers were middle class professionals. Social class background alone, however, could not be suggested as an explanation for these comparatively radical views since the other two categories of parents also included some with middle class backgrounds. Two of these fathers were teaching in schools in Britain; this contact with young people may have induced them to reflect upon and develop an understanding of the cross-pressures which bear upon Asian children. One father claimed that he had always been 'a bit of a non-conformist', and another was active in the field of community relations. The third had lost his father at a young age, and as the eldest son of a large family he had to make considerable personal sacrifices in order to provide decent living conditions for his mother and siblings. While he had fulfilled these obligations impeccably, and the family were now well established, he had arrived at a stage where he was beginning to question some of the basic tenets of his culture. Finally, their own marriages (which had been arranged by their parents) did not seem to be particularly happy. All three fathers were married to women who were quite a bit less educated than themselves. During the interview, they implied that they did not have much opportunity for intellectual communication with their wives. Thus it may be that it was

the combined influence of their social class background, the nature of their professions, the quality of their own marriages, certain events in their personal history etc. which might have shaped their comparatively radical perspective on arranged marriages.

It is evident that there was consensus as well as variation in the attitudes of Asian parents towards the issue of arranged marriages. It should be pointed out that these attitudes reflected the parents' idealized beliefs; the parents did not necessarily think that their children would comply with their wishes. Indeed, all parents seemed to feel that in Britain they did not have the power to match their formal authority. A recalcitrant Asian adolescent, they felt, would have the legal and informal opinion of the majority group behind them, and the parent was likely to be seen as depriving the young person of his right to personal freedom. They were aware that in an industrial society a teenager was able to be economically independent of the parents. They informed me that in view of these factors, they themselves would have to be more accommodating. For instance, if their son or daughter married someone of his/her choice and presented them with a fait accompli, in all probability, they would accept such a marriage.

It is clear that on the basis of these data, it may be suggested that a substantial proportion of Asian parents are, perhaps, more flexible than is often assumed.

English adolescents' perceptions of the arranged marriage system

As would be expected, English adolescents (and their parents) were almost unanimously opposed to the arranged marriage system. Only one

girl considered it a viable system; a system different from her own, but nevertheless valid from a different cultural standpoint. Other respondents exhibited little sympathy for an understanding of it. Their responses ranged from disinterest to antipathy. The latter was articulated through their use of adjectives such as 'ridiculous', 'awful', 'horrible' etc. to describe the system. In view of the findings concerning the attitudes of the Asian adolescents on this issue, which suggested that a large majority of them did not categorically reject the system and expected their own marriages to be arranged, it can be seen that there would be problems of communication between Asian and English teenagers on topics concerning the sensitive area of personal relations.

7.3.3 Dowry

As has already been noted, it is customary for an Asian woman to receive dowry at the time of the wedding. The dowry consists of sizeable gifts in cash and kind given by the bride's parents to the daughter and to the family into which she is marrying. At the same time, gifts are also exchanged between the bride's family and her mother's natal home, and so on. This complex network of ritualistic gift giving has the effect of reinforcing the system of reciprocal rights and obligations between families.

Traditionally, an adolescent girl participated in the preparation of items included in the dowry. For example, she would embroider bedspreads, weave 'daris', make quilts etc. Through continual direct participation of this type, she also learnt about the system of reciprocal rights and obligations. Girls and boys growing up in Britain do not have the opportunities to learn about these customs through this type of participation. Almost all items in a dowry such as furniture,kitchen utensils etc. may now be purchased from the shops. Members of the extended family who would be

included in the network of gift giving are often not living in Britain. It is not surprising, therefore, that an overwhelming majority of the 'second generation' teenagers I spoke to viewed dowry as 'presents' given by the parents to the girl and the groom. They did not appear to be fully cognizant of the role of the extended kin in this system of social exchange. Many did not appreciate the financial pressures on parents who are expected to meet the costs of the dowry. As would be expected, the 'teenage migrants' were more familiar with the wider implications of the dowry system.

The parents, on the other hand, frequently complained about the increasing expense of dowries, but with the exception of a small minority (three fathers) continued to feel bound by custom to provide dowry for the daughters. Moreover they seemed to feel that the "girl must also receive something from the parents", implying that her rights to the family's joint assets needed to be recognised. Traditionally, the dowry worked in favour of the woman to the extent that the dowry and the subsequent ritual gifts given to her by her natal family may be regarded as a symbolic acknowledgement of her share in the family property. However, over time, the system has acquired an oppressive dimension. A substantial dowry may sometimes be demanded by the groom's family as a pre-condition to marriage. In addition, social competition may also pressurise families into giving a generous dowry. Perhaps, as a result of a rather truncated socialisation of the 'second generation' adolescents into the traditions of the Sub-continent, it was found that very few of the respondents made any reference to this oppressive aspect of the dowry system. Only one made a comment

such as the following: "There should be no such thing. It is not fair on the girls' parents. You should just be married and live your own life". The majority regarded the dowry as 'presents' which they looked forward to receiving. A majority of the 'teenage migrants' was also not ideologically opposed to the dowry system, but these respondents were more appreciative of the financial burden borne by the girls' family.

7.3.4 Mixed Marriages

Since the institution of marriage plays an important role in maintaining boundaries between groups, the respondents' perceptions of mixed-marriage, that is, marriage with a person from a normally exogamous group, may serve to indicate their psychological disposition towards the potential extension of these boundaries to include erstwhile out-groups. These attitudes are likely to be shaped, at least in part, by the current as well as historical relations between the groups under consideration. Thus, existing inter-group relations in the Sub-continent and in Britain and their historical antecedents may have an important bearing upon the respondents' views on marriage between normally exogamous groups.

Asian respondents' views on mixed marriages

The above, indeed, was found to be the case. For instance, the degree to which the Asian adolescents and their parents accepted or rejected marriage between two exogamous groups was found to vary directly with the level of antagonism (latent or manifest) historically associated with these groups. Thus, inter-caste marriages between castes nearest to one another on the status hierarchy, and marriages between persons from religions which have traditionally been characterised by a relatively lesser

degree of strife, as for example Sikhism and Hinduism, were more readily acceptable to them. On the other hand, marriages between Muslims and Hindus or between Muslims and Sikhs, that is, between religious groups which, for historical reasons, have stood in greater opposition to one another, were regarded less favourably.

It must be pointed out, however, that a majority of the Asian adolescents rejected mixed marriages mainly when the issue of their own marriage with a person from another group was raised. They did not seem unsympathetic if other young Asians wished to contract such marriages. The general feeling was that, in principle, they did not "see anything wrong with the idea of mixed-marriages". At least three respondents (see section 7.3.2) reported that they would not be constrained by considerations of caste or religion and would marry "who I please".

Marriages between Asians and White people tended to elicit greatest disapproval from Asian teenagers. Here, the fear of bringing disrepute on the family seemed to be coupled with other equally important considerations Firstly, a general anxiety was expressed that the chances of an 'inter-racial' marriage ending in divorce would be considerably high, due mainly to two factors: cultural differences on the one hand, and racial prejudice on the other. Problems resulting from cultural differences between the Asian and the English were noted in words such as, "Marriage with an English person will end in divorce, well, simply because you live differently from them. The food you eat is different, customs are different. Arguments may start and you end up separately. If you are the same colour, and she eats the same food, you don't have quite such a problem", or "I don't really know. I'd feel odd. I don't mind other people marrying but I

don't know about myself". The influence of ethnic divisions in British society on decisions concerning 'inter-racial' marriages was expressed in replies of the following type: "In a way when you think of it, I would not marry a white person. I could be seen to be racially prejudiced, but I am not. I think there would be a lot of trouble. There are lots of people who are racially prejudiced and there would be trouble between you. I don't think a marriage would work out unless both families accepted it, and at the place of work your employers accepted it and everybody accepts it". Secondly, these respondents were also concerned that children from such marriages would be faced with problems of identity. A typical answer was, "The children suffer. They don't know where they belong. The English won't accept them, and the Asians won't either". There were no appreciable differences between the attitudes of the 'second generation' and the 'teenage migrants' towards mixed marriages.

It will be recalled from section 7.3.2 that there was considerable variation in the attitudes of Asian parents to mixed-marriages. The orthodox parents (those in category (i)) were categorically opposed to mixed-marriages. A number of the more liberal parents (category (ii)), on the other hand, were willing to abandon some of the traditional marriage rules. For instance, the Hindu and Sikh parents in this category were willing to accept certain types of inter-caste marriages, most notably those between castes nearest to one another on the scale of caste hierarchy. They were also inclined to accept marriages between Hindus and Sikhs of similar caste status. The Muslim parents in this category were willing to accept marriages between non-kin. In contrast, to the 'orthodox' and 'liberal' parents, the 'radical' parents (category (iii)) reported that

they were not opposed to any form of mixed marriage discussed in this chapter. Overall there were indications that, unlike their children, Asian parents would find a marriage between an Asian and a white person more acceptable than that between a Muslim and a Hindu/Sikh.

English adolescents and their parents' views on mixed marriages

These informants were asked their views on only one type of mixed marriage, namely that between a White person and an Asian. Their responses highlighted the social barriers which exist against such marriages, and the complex way in which personal choice is influenced by the social structure. The following type of replies were fairly typical.

> "My dad, he's a bit colour prejudiced, so if I was to go out with say an Indian boy, I wouldn't be allowed back in the house. He just says it's not right to mix with people from other countries. My mother agrees with him".

Q. Do you agree with them, or do you feel differently?

A. Oh, I agree with them. (15 year old girl)

> "So far I have never been attracted. Quite honestly, I have never seen what I thought was an attractive coloured girl. Miss World, a coloured girl won it and I thought, ugh, it sort of made me turn over. So I don't think I would ever marry a coloured girl". (16 year old boy).

> "I don't think that it really matters who you marry. We are all human beings. These people, you see, like there is a half-caste coloured girl down the road, they can be so horrible to her. I cannot understand it, because she's a human being like them, just a different colour. You get all this nastiness. But these marriages are more common now". (15 year old girl)

> "Well, I don't mind if a girl had a white mother and an Indian father. I wouldn't mind that so much, or if she was just tanned, a throwback from past times, I wouldn't mind that, but a white woman married to an Indian man, it's not wrong, but it's not my idea of marriage". (16 year old boy)

> "It is a matter of individual choice, but a lot of people don't marry coloureds because of parents, racial discrimination, keeping the blood right and all that". (15 year old boy)

> "I must admit I don't like them. They just don't look nice. I suppose people would talk, parents wouldn't like it. My mum and dad wouldn't like it. Probably eat different food and wouldn't like each other's food". (16 year old girl)

It can be seen that pressures from the family and the wider community played as important a role in structuring the attitudes of these adolescents as they did in the case of the Asians. The influence of ethnic divisions in society in shaping attitudes to marriage is quite strikingly evident. The views of their parents ranged from extreme disapproval;

> ("they wouldn't work. They probably wouldn't have anything in common. Our parents used to teach us we shouldn't marry a coloured person. We hardly had any contact with them. When younger kids grow up it will no longer be unusual. Government is encouraging them by letting in so many. We have never mixed before, this is why there is antagonism. I would be shocked if my daughter came in with a coloured man".)

to reluctant resignation;

> ("It is something that is coming. A couple of generations of kids born here and it'll be common. My sister is married to a West Indian and lives in New York. She is happy with her choice. I don't think any less of her, but it took my husband a long time to adjust. We would feel the same about our kids".) (with a sigh).

and in a small number of cases to acdeptance;

> ("We were poor when we were kids. My husband's family was well off. But our marriage worked. If one of my kids wanted to marry someone of another race, that would be alright with me. Marriage is a personal matter".)

The findings presented in this section would seem to demonstrate that individual choice concerning marriage is severly constrained by the social structure. In the case of the English, such constraints have an origin in the social divisions in Britain, whereas in the case of the Asians,

social divisions here as well as in the Sub-continent have a bearing. The responses of the Asians suggest that caste and religious endogamy is likely to be challenged by a small section of Asian youth, but a majority of them will marry within their own religions and castes. The attitudes of the Asian and English respondents to marriages between Asians and the Whites indicated that, in Southall at least, such marriages are unlikely to become a common occurrence for some time yet.

7.3.5 Divorce

Asian adolescents' perceptions of divorce

For reasons described earlier, divorce tends to be strongly disapproved of among the Asians. The Hindus, for instance, regard marriage as a sacrament and feel that as such it cannot be dissolved. Although divorce is now legally available in the Sub-continent, attitudes to divorce are still largely governed by custom.

The general attitude of the adolescent respondents in the study, seemed to be that a divorce should be sought only as a last resort. The plight of children from a broken marriage was regarded as a matter of serious concern. Some girls expressed the view that a divorced Asian woman was at a much greater disadvantage than a man. Her chances of re-marriage with someone of her own community would be severly limited. The advantages of divorce were often seen to be outweighed by this consideration. On the other hand, a few examples of successful re-marriages were also cited. In general, it may be suggested that only in serious cases of marital breakdown would these young people regard divorce as a viable alternative. On the other hand, it is unlikely that they would suffer an unhappy marriage themselves as their parents may have done simply for the sake of the family. Again there were no significant differences between the views

of the 'second generation' as compared with the 'teenage migrants'.

Asian parents' perceptions of divorce

Contrary to expectation, it was found that a majority of the Asian parents did not categorically reject the notion of divorce. While not wishing to be seen as condoning divorce, many suggested that under certain circumstances, it might be the only appropriate solution. I was informed by several parents that the rate of divorce among the Asians was on the increase. While the older and more traditional parents attributed this to the negative influence of the western culture, others made reference to the stress on marriages due to migration. On the basis of the examples they cited, the following factors may be identified as contributing to stress which may result in divorce:

1) As has been already noted, in the traditional set-up, a couple's emotional and psychological dependence upon the conjugal relationship is considerably less than is the case in a nuclear family.. When they migrated to Britain, most Asian couples found themselves for the first time in a situation of neolocal residence. As a consequence, the couples had to learn to adjust to each other's personality in a way that they never had to at the time of their marriage. In the absence of members of the extended family, many had to learn to rely almost exclusively on each other for companionship as well as for decision making. While this can be a liberating experience for some couples, for others, especially those comprising incompatible personalities the experience can be stressful. Moreover, when difficulties begin to surface, kin are usually not present to offer informal counselling and advice.

2) Incipient changes in sex roles make divorce a viable alternative to an unhappy marriage. Working women, for example, become aware that they can make a living independently of their husbands. In cases of serious marital breakdown, such women might now consider divorce, whereas previously they could not have done so.

3) Difficulties may also arise if one partner adopts more modern views while the other remains more closely bound to the traditional codes of conduct.

4) Marriage between a young person who has grown up in Britain and a recent arrival from the Sub-continent may lead to problems of communication. While this is not universally true of all such marriages, some of them are likely to come under pressure.

5) A significant proportion of Asians in Southall are engaged in shift work, or at any rate work long hours (Dhanjal, 1978; Harrison, 1974). In some instances the husband and wife may both be working long hours. Resultant physical as well as emotional stress may also lead to marital difficulties.

6) Families may sometimes live as joint households (e.g. two brothers and their families) not from choice but because there is a housing shortage in the area. Such 'forced joint residence may create tensions among family members which may have adverse effect on marriage.

A combined effect of these may, in part, lead to marital breakdown.

English respondents' views on divorce

On the issue of divorce, the views of the English teenagers and

their parents were found to be very similar to those of the Asians. There was a feeling that stresses of modern life, changes in sex roles, early age of marriage, and what was described as the 'easy availability' of divorce contributed to an increase in the rate of divorce. Like their Asian counterparts, they were very concerned about the plight of children from broken marriages, and only in very serious cases of marital breakdown would they countenance divorce as a viable alternative.

It is evident, that there was considerable consensus across the generations as well as across the two ethnic groups on the issue of divorce.

7.3.6 Housework and Child-care

In most societies, this area of responsibility has, in the main, been allocated to women. Even when women hold jobs outside the home, the social pressures usually result in the largest proportion of housework and child-care being undertaken by them. Working class women in Britain are a case in point. For a considerably longer time than their middle class counterparts, these women have gone to work outside the home, but at the same time they have had to carry out most of the household chores. Through the efforts, mainly of the Woman's Movement during the last decade and a half, the unfairness of this state of affairs has been brought to the forefront of the public eye. Although this movement has made substantial impact in generating public debate, its membership has been drawn largely from the middle classes. In analysing the responses of the English families in this study, it is worth bearing in mind that all but two families interviewed were working class.

As regards the Asians, a majority of those from the Sub-continent originate from families with small to medium sized land-holdings. Women with this background have worked outside the home only to the extent of helping their

folk on the farm during busy periods such as the harvest time. They would be likely to regard housework and child-care as their major responsibility. Sub-continental women who, prior to migration, held professional jobs, would be used to having most of the housework done by the servants. Apart from those who worked in the professions or in family-owned shops, Asian women from Africa would also not have undertaken work outside their homes. While a majority of these did their own cooking, in other aspects of housework they were assisted by servants. Work outside the home and especially industrial work, therefore, is a new experience for an overwhelming majority of Asian women in Britain. Their attitudes to out-work were often characterized by ambivalence. On one hand, out-work constituted a remedy to loneliness which many Asian women experience while adjusting to life in Britain without the support of the extended family and without the opportunities for frequent socializing with the neighbours which are so characteristic of social life in countries with warmer climates. On the other, they found factory work physically exhausting, especially since they were also responsible for carrying out most of the household chores.

In asking questions about housework and childcare, my main interest lay in ascertaining the extent towhich the traditional conception of housework as being mainly the woman's responsibility was still being subscribed to.

English adolescents' views on housework and child-care

It was found that all but three respondents (one boy; two girls) regarded housework and child-care to fall mainly within the sphere of a woman's responsibility. They expected the male to extend help in somewhat direct proportion to whether or not the woman was engaged in work outside the home; if the woman was a full-time housewife, the man's contribution to housework should be mainly in the form of assistance with the washing

of dishes; however, if she worked part-time, he should undertake a few additional tasks and only if she was in full-time paid employment was the husband expected to contribute in any significant proportion. A majority was also unfavourably disposed to the idea of a woman going out to work when the children were small. Only one boy said that in his view either sex could choose to stay home to look after the children. In the main, the respondents tended to conceptualize domestic tasks in terms of 'a man's and a woman's job'. The former included mainly tasks such as gardening, and maintenance work on the house and the family car.

That the influence of sex-role stereotyping was strong was evidenced by replies of the following type:

> "I like a man to be a man - wouldn't like him to be running around with a duster. I'd be happy to do the housework, but wouldn't like to think I'll have to do all of it. If I am working, I would try to get some time-saving gadgets". (16 year old girl).

> "I think the man should be dominant really. The man should be the bill payer and the woman should be the one who shops and have the money for the shopping. Various responsibilities like that. I don't think there should be a fixed rule -that men never do housework. If they both work, the woman should prepare the meal, and the man should help as well - say, "I'll give you hand with the dishes afterwards". (15 year old boy).

> "I believe in it (sex equality) to a certain extent. After that I think it brings a woman down. As much as anything they loose their status as a woman, they become just another person". (15 year old girl).

In terms of decision making, however, the respondents were almost unanimously in favour of the decision making process to be a joint-undertaking between the husband and wife. As one girl put it:

> "Decisions should be made together, not by one person. With the older generation, the man was in charge, but with this one, there will be joint headship".

English parents' views on housework and child-care

The views of the parents were very similar to those of the teenagers, that is, housework and child-care were seen to be mainly the responsibility of the woman, but that the man should assist to a varying degree, depending

on whether or not the woman was engaged in employment outside the home. A majority of the mothers were themselves employed either in full-time or part-time work. Although all parents supported the general principle that men and women should share housework, most husbands informed me that in reality they offered only limited help. Nor did the women expect any more than nominal help. Comments of the following type were typical:

> "I don't believe that husbands or children should do much housework. If the man is working, why give him more work. Housework is really a woman's job. Women should not go out to work until the children are older. When our children were smaller, I used to work from 6-11 in the evening". (a mother who works as a cleaner).

> "Personally, I like housework. I bring the children slightly into it, but I do not like to put too much onto children, because their time will come. I don't expect my husband to do housework, as long as he keeps the house decorated". (a middle class mother engaged in part-time office work).

Only in one family did the husband claim to carry out quite a few of the chores. His wife had been married before but this was his first marriage. Consequently the family comprised teenage children by the wife's first marriage as well as a baby from the second. Because the baby was only a few months old, the mother was not employed at the time of the interview, and in her opinion, "Housework should be shared. I used to work full-time so we got into the habit of working together. Older kids now look after themselves. My parents are divorced now but my father used to help". Her husband added, "It is really a case of who has the time. I wash nappies sometimes, and at other times she does. We used to have servants in India (his family were there during the Raj). I came here at the age of 17 and had to start fending for myself - just jumped in at the deep end and learnt".

Thus it can be seen that with the exception of a small minority, English adolescents and their parents consider housework and child-care to be the 'woman's job'.

Asian parents' views on housework and child-care

Like their English counterparts, the Asian parents also considered housework and child-care to be mainly a woman's responsibility, but felt that the man should provide some help. All parents indicated that if the husband and wife were both engaged in work outside the home, the wife should not be expected to carry out housework unaided. However, in practice, women whether they were earning or not undertook the major part of domestic labour. This was most marked in joint households. In such families, the men contributed little in the way of domestic work, and the women shared it among themselves. Not all women in such families went out to work; in general the mother-in-law and the eldest daughter-in-laws were less likely to be employed, and were accordingly often more centrally involved in housework and child-care. Out-work, however, did not exonerate the other women of the family from responsibility for housework, and they were expected to help over the week-end.

Among neolocal families, while the largest proportion of housework was undertaken by the women, the men admitted to performing tasks such as vacuum-cleaning the carpets, washing dishes etc. Most fathers informed me that when the children were small, they used to help with domestic work to a much greater extent. It must be pointed out that in comparison with the English mothers, a greater proportion of Asian mothers were employed in full-time work. Partly due to this factor, and partly, perhaps, because out-work was a new experience for them, many mothers complained of physical exhaustion. The responsibility for housework combined with the necessity to find outside employment was seen by them to be the worst feature of life in Britain. In the words of one woman, "it is a dog's life. There

are bills after bills to be paid. You wear yourself to the bone with work".

Asian adolescents' views on housework and child-care

In contrast to the responses of the English adolescents, those of the Asians were characterized by a marked sex difference. A majority of the Asian boys, like their English counterparts, regarded housework and child-care to be mainly a woman's responsibility. Like them they informed me that they would offer assistance with tasks such as washing dishes, or minding the children while the wife was cooking, but were unlikely to undertake tasks such as cooking or washing a baby's soiled napkins. In the case of the girls, however, only half of the girls were found to share this view. The other half indicated that they would prefer the husband to be involved in housework and child-care on an equal basis, as the following comment illustrates:

> "Housework should be shared half and half. I think the husband should be as much part of the house and the kids as the woman is, because if the husband hadn't any contact with the child, the child is not going to know what his father is like - there's just this man who is there and whom he calls father .... I'd make sure that my husband is going to help me bring up the children, that he is going to change a nappy every so often or bath the baby or something like that".

Although not all 'second generation' girls were found to think in this way, they constituted the majority of girls who preferred domestic work to be shared equally between a man and a woman. This sex difference in attitude would seem to suggest that, at least at the level of professed belief, more Asian girls than English girls in Southall are likely to challenge the traditional norm according to which housework and child-care is part of the woman's domain of responsibility.

It is interesting to note the high level of similarity between the responses of parents from both ethnic groups, and between them and English teenagers as well as Asian boys and at least half of the Asian girls.

7.3.7 Joint/Nuclear Family and the Care of Elderly Parents

Asian Respondents' Views on Joint/Nuclear Family Type and the Care of Elderly Parents

There is evidence that a majority of the Asian families in Britain live neolocally rather than in joint households (Anwar, 1976). Among the 29 Asian families interviewed in this study, only nine constituted joint households. These consisted of parents, one or two married sons and their families, and unmarried sons and daughters. The married sons were usually in their twenties or early thirties and had only young children.. It is worth bearing in mind that the condition of neolocality in Britain does not exonerate the Asian families from their obligations to the extended family. It is quite frequently the case that when families grow larger, as for example by the addition of elderly parents, or as a result of new children being born, they will split up into separate households but will continue to maintain close links. Some families may try to avoid residential separation by buying adjacent houses and converting them into one house. Indeed, one of the families that I came across was in the process of doing precisely this.

When the Asian adolescents' responses to questions concerning the relative merits of joint as compared to neolocal residence, were examined, it was found that the views of the 'teenage migrants' differed markedly from those of the 'second generation'. The former almost unanimously seemed to favour the idea that members of the extended family should live together as a single household. Even respondents from those families in which this type of residence was responsible for considerable tension and

conflict, seemed to regard segmentation of the family into separate households as a cause for serious regret. When discussing instances of such familial conflict, the 'teenage migrants' were invariably found to blame the materialistic nature of British society and/or the seemingly uncompromising behaviour of their sisters-in-law as the root cause of tensions in the family. People were becoming so materialistic, they said, that the 'sacred' bonds between members of the family were being sacrificed for the sake of money. The married brothers of two of the boys had come to England with their wives several years before the rest of the family could come to join them. When my respondents together with their parents and sibling arrived in England, they were shocked to learn that their elder brothers expected the parents and the younger brothers and sisters to pay for their room and board. According to custom, the earning members of the family would pool their incomes, and the non-earning members would be supported from this common fund. A formal totting up of the value of such assistance would be strongly discouraged. These boys expressed their disappointment at their brothers' behaviour as follows: "Our brothers have become too westernized in their ways, and like the English are expecting their own flesh and blood to pay for their upkeep. How can you reduce the love between brothers, or between a mother and a son to a financial transaction". It is evident that the norms of the joint- family constituted the main reference model for these 'teenage migrants'.

An overwhelming majority of the 'second generation' teenagers, on the other hand, reported that they would like to set up a separate home upon marriage rather than continue to live with the parents of the man as is customary. They were cognizant of the advantages of living within an extended family, as for example, those accruing from the pooling of incomes,

the availability of the mother-in-law as a baby-minder, not having to seek separate accommodation and therefore not being subjected to constraints laid down by a landlord etc. But equally they were wary of the tensions resulting from living together. As one girl put it, "If you are living on your own, you have got the right to do what you think is right and do what you want to do. If you are living with your mother-in-law you have to do what she says and you can't say, 'no I am not doing it'". Another said, "in-laws can get on your nerves. I wouldn't feel independent. I would like to feel independent and have a family of my own". The boys tended to feel that tensions among the female members of the family may place the son in a difficult position. His loyalties would be divided between his wife and his mother. In the initial stages of the marriage, especially, almost all agreed that they would not like to live with their parents. A small number suggested that in order to avoid gossip they would be prepared to give extended family-living a try, but ideally they would rather live on their own.

The two categories of Asian teenagers were much more united on the question of the care of the elderly. They were unanimous in the view that it was the children's duty to look after the elderly parents. As a fifteen year old girl, born and brought up in Southall explained:

> "The children should look after the parents. It's up to us to look after them because they looked after us when we were small".

The state provision for the elderly, especially the pension schemes, were regarded as being important, but they rejected the idea of placing their elderly parents in a home: "It's like putting them out to grazing. They'll feel bad if you put all the old people together. They'll feel so left out that their time is gone" was a typical sentiment expressed. Most boys expected that their parents and the girls expected that their

in-laws would be living with them when the latter grew old or infirm. There was general consensus that the parents would probably be based with one son but would be free to pay extended visits to other children at their leisure.

It is worth bearing in mind that although the 'second generation' Asians displayed a strong sense of responsibility for the care of the elderly, their marked preference for setting up neolocal residence noted above would seem to indicate that, in time, the responsibility for the parents may be relegated second place to that felt for the family of procreation. In Chapter 6 it was noted that such segmentation of familial responsibility is more characteristic of family patterns in industrial societies; this proposition was borne out by the factor structure obtained for the English sample. On the basis of the interview data being considered here, it can be suggested that in an embryonic form a similar process has begun to take shape among some of the 'second generation' Asian teenagers. It was highlighted by comments such as the following made by a 16 year old Sikh who had lived in Southall since the age of five:

> "No I definitely wouldn't want to live with my parents after marriage. I definitely would like to live separately. The government should help out in looking after the parents, because we can't support our own children and our parents at the same time. But children should look after parents in their old age, because they supported the children once".

As would be expected, it was found that all Asian parents expressed a preference for joint rather than neolocal residence. In practice, however, this was not always possible because the existing housing stock in Southall, comprising mainly three bedroom houses was not suited to this type of residence. As a result, commitment to the system of reciprocal rights

and obligation by members of the family was regarded by the parents as being more important than the fact of joint residence. Care of the elderly parents was felt to be the duty of the children, especially sons. However, parents who were already heads of extended families seemed to differ in their conception of 'duty' from younger parents whose children were not yet married. The former employed the term 'seva' or 'khidmat' (selfless service without expectation of reward) in describing the duty of children towards their parents. This term symbolises the spirit in which, according to tradition, elders of the family could expect to be treated - with respect, indeed with veneration. Operating within the framework of this conception of duty, the older parents expected to be looked after as of right, and with considerable deference. The younger parents, on the other hand, rarely made use of this term, and instead merely expressed the hope that the children would look after them in their old age ('Dekh Bhal'). According to these parents' appraisal of the situation, the younger generation of Asians were likely to view elderly parents as a burden; consequently the parents could not be sure whether or not their children would look after them in their old age. One father informed me that in his view the only instrument of control left at his disposal were his financial assets, i.e. the children would be unlikely to abandon him if they expected a substantial inheritance.

The need for emotional security in old age was considered by the parents to be as important as financial security; just as young children required love and affection from their parents, the elderly parents, they felt, needed care and affection from their children.

In general, the responses of the parents implied an underlying anxiety and insecurity in the face of perceived changes taking place in the belief systems of the young. They felt that in Britain their children always had the option of leaving home and becoming economically independent. In part the parents' strong support for the arranged marriage system can be explained in terms of this insecurity; arranged-marriages act as an insurance policy against the possibility that the children might radically deviate from the Asian social norms and in the process abandon their parents.

English Respondents' Views on Joint/Nuclear Family Type and the Care of Elderly Parents

As would be expected, all English boys and girls were found to favour the idea of setting up a separate household upon marriage, although several acknowledged that it would be cheaper to live with parents and that parents could act as baby minders for their children. However, these advantages, in their view, were strongly outweighed by the lack of independence and privacy in this type of family residence. Marriage for them marked the beginning of a period when an individual must become independent of the natal family: "You should have your own home because you must learn to fend for yourself".

As regards the question of care of elderly parents, a very large majority of the English boys and girls thought that care of the elderly should be a joint responsibility between the children and the state. Social provision such as pension schemes and homes for the elderly were important and necessary. An ideal arrangement according to them, would be one whereby the parents could reside within a reasonable distance from themselves such that frequent visits to the parents would be possible.

They informed me that they would attempt to ensure that their parents were financially and otherwise comfortable:

> "Kids should remember that when they were small, the parents looked after them. I'd visit them, make sure they had food, warmth and enough money to survive - generally help. I'd make sure there was nothing they were going short of". (a 15 year old boy).

> "I wouldn't like them to live with me, but I would live near them so I could pop in and see them and see that they are O.K." (a 15 year old girl).

Their replies to the question as to whether or not they would be likely to have their elderly parents live with them, reflected considerable variation of attitude. Some respondents indicated that responsibility for the care of the elderly tends to create tremendous pressures on the offspring, and as a result they were likely to have their parents stay in a home for the elderly:

> " don't think they should be lumbered onto their children. It's not lumbered really, but when they get old and disabled where they can't do things for themselves, it makes too much pressure on their children's lives. I think there should be homes for the elderly. They can't put all the pressure on the children". (a 16 year old girl).

> "The government should take more responsibility. If you get married, you have a family of your own. It is not very nice if your mum and dad live with you". (a 15 year old girl).

Others suggested that the parents could go into a 'home' if their children found it difficult to manage:

> "Kids should look after parents but if they cannot cope then the government should provide homes for the elderly". (a 16 year old girl).

A few indicated that they would not want their parents to live in a 'home'.

> "No, I think that children should look after their parents because your parents brought you into the world. They are your flesh and blood. So you should look after them until they pass on. I would leave them in their own house for as long as they could cope. Then if they got, say arthritis, or they were unable to get out of bed, then I would bring them to my own house". (a 15 year old boy).

In general, it was apparent that the girls were more pragmatic in their appraisal of the situation, and were more forthcoming about the practical difficulties involved in looking after elderly parents.

English Parents' Views on Joint/Nuclear Family Type and the Care of Elderly Parents

In contrast to the views of the Asian parents, especially to those of the 'older' Asian parents, the English parents reported that when they grew old they could not and did not expect to be looked after by their children as of right. They did, however, hope that the children would live near them and provide the required aid and assistance. A number of parents made the point that although people should prepare for old age while they were still young, the government also should try to improve on the existing provision for the elderly. For example, cheaper food and heating, better pension schemes, greater access to home-help etc. should be available to all elderly people. They felt that 'homes' for the elderly were needed because families did not always look after their parents, but hoped that they themselves would not have to move to a 'home' in their old age.

To summarize the evidence presented in Section 7.3.7, it was found that Asian boys and girls who came to Britain as teenagers expressed a stronger preference for joint family residence than did the 'second generation' adolescents. In the case of the latter, the patterns of nuclear family life seemed to constitute the more important reference model, an indication, perhaps, of emerging individualism among them of the type commonly associated with western societies. Both sets of Asian teenagers

were found to be committed to taking care of elderly parents, but the 'second generation' respondents indicated that ideally they would prefer to live separately from but near their parents; in this respect they echoed the sentiments of their English counterparts, who also, in the main, felt that children should undertake the major share of responsibility for the care of the elderly parents, but should not have to necessarily share accommodation with them. The English and Asian adolescents differed mainly in that the latter categorically rejected the possibility of placing their parents in 'homes' for the elderly.

With reference to Asian parents, it emerged that although ideally they would like all their married sons to continue to live with them, they recognised that in practice the available housing stock in Southall was not amenable to this type of residence. Further, it was found that while the older Asian parents, especially those who were already heads of extended families, expected to be looked after by their children as of right, the younger parents whose children were still in their teens indicated that in Britain they could not continue to hold such high expectations. The expectations of the younger Asian parents would seem to be more similar to those of the English parents who hoped that the children would look after them but did not feel they could make strong demands.

It can be seen that although some ethnic differences, were evident, the Asians and the English were in no way polarised in their views on issues discussed in this section. Further, within each ethnic group, there was considerable similarity on the value-system of the two age categories.

7.3.8 Communication With Parents Asian Adolescents

Literature on adolescence often notes a feeling on the part of teenagers that they are not well understood by their parents. In the case of Asian adolescents, such a feeling may only be partially attributed to the state of adolescence. It may also be due in part to the fact that the locus of early socialisation of the two generations is separated not only in time but also by countries with differing social and cultural systems. Not having attended schools themselves in Britain, the parents are often not aware of the cross-pressures to which their off-spring may be subjected. This is not to suggest that they do not attempt to understand their children, but that certain features of their children's socialisation outside school are beyond their own range of experience. This aspect was often expressed by Asian adolescents in this study through statements such as the following:

> "Sometimes, I don't think my mother understands me. I have tried to talk to her, but I don't know if she understands me, what I try to tell her. There are certain things that she just can't understand".

Others suggested that communication was partial:

> "In a way yes, but not all the time. I can freely talk to them about jobs and things like that, but not about boys. They are O.K.".

A few claimed to have good communication with their parents: "My parents have changed with the times", said one girl and another reported, "I am lucky. My parents try hard to see my side of the story". There was thus considerable variation in the quality of communication with parents as reported by these teenagers. Only two boys and two girls expressed

resentment against their parents with whom their relationships, especially with the father, were far from amicable. In two of these cases, the fathers appeared to be authoritarian and traditional. The other two did not wish me to visit their families, so I was unable to get much direct information about the parents.

It is worth noting that a majority of those claiming poor communication with parents made their remarks less in anger than in sadness. They informed me that, to some extent, they could empathize with their parents' anxieties about the children. They seemed aware that the parents too were under pressure from the informal social controls within Asian communities in Britain. Further, it was evident that only in a small number of cases, (See section 7.3.2 of this chapter) could poor communication between parents and the adolescent be attributed to a 'culture clash' in values. In other instances, difficulties seemed to arise as frequently due to factors such as when the parents persistently disapproved of the adolescent's friends:

> "I don't find it easy to discuss things with them. I don't feel like talking about what I want to talk; you see, I get scared and nervous. It's just that they get the wrong ideas. They think that I have been mixing with the wrong crowd".

Or when the parents placed too much emphasis on academic achievement and pushed the adolescent too hard to succeed:

> "I have to go upstairs at 6.0 clock and start studying until 10.00 My brother who is a bit older than me, he's doing 'A' levels at the moment, so my dad particularly loves him most out of the family, so he can do what he wants. My dad won't stop him, whereas if I want to go anywhere, my dad says, 'Go upstairs and read instead'".

Or when a parent had a rather authoritarian personality; or when there were marital or other tensions in the home; or if the adolescent got into trouble with the police etc. Indeed these young people's views on culturally specific issues such as arranged marriage were often very similar to

those of their parents. That a number of different factors may make for strained relationships between Asian children and their parents is illustrated by the following case studies of two boys who, at one stage, had left home, and of a girl who had contemplated leaving home but did not.

Case study 1:

Y.S. was a 16 year old Sikh boy who came to Britain at the age of six. His only other sibling was a 19 year old brother. His father was 42 and was born in a small town in the Punjab. His mother was 40 and was born and brought up in South Africa. Her father was a businessman and prior to her marriage, she worked in his shop. In terms of formal education, she had 'C' level passes in several subjects. She spoke English fluently and was working as a secretary with a firm in Southall. The father was a graduate from an Indian University with a degree in agricultural engineering. In India he was employed in the army. During the first years of his residence in Britain, he had tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain employment commensurate with his professional training. At the time of the interview, he was employed as a security officer, and informed me that he had often met with discrimination in employment. He was a staunch Sikh with a very orthodox view of religion. He expected his family to attend the Gurudwara every Sunday. He was a strict disciplinarian who appeared to have transferred his thwarted ambition to succeed in his profession over to his two sons. His 19 year old son was taking a degree at a University.

When asked about marriage, Y.S. replied that, in principle, he supported the idea that Asian young people ought to be permitted to select their own marriage partner, but in his own case, he was shy to approach girls and would not know how to 'go about finding the right sort of girl'.

He was not opposed to mixed marriages, but stated that due to pressure from the respective communities they often end in divorce. He was proud of being a Sikh and did not wish to let his family down by marrying a non-Sikh. His parents, he said, were unlikely to force him into a marriage; rather he would be introduced to someone with whom he will have the chance to meet and talk. The issue of marriage, therefore, did not pose any serious problems vis a vis the parents. Yet he left home and stayed with his uncle for a couple of weeks before he was brought back. The uncle in question was apparently not on very good terms with Y.S.'s parents. When asked why he left home, he replied:

> "Because they were getting on at me. They wouldn't leave me alone. They tell you that you're mad and this and that and compare you with your brother at University, calling him a genius and you a nothing. They get on at you and you can't stand it any more".

He added:

> "In the Indian community parents are very proud of what they are, they won't let you work on a Saturday. They give you very little money to do anything with. You are not allowed to go anywhere. It's like a prison. I am supposed to stay in and study. If I want to go out anywhere, even to the library, I have to tell them I am going to the library".

He added that his mother was considerably more understanding than the father. Thus the pressure from a strictly disciplinarian father who wanted his son to succeed by becoming professionally qualified, and tried to pressurize the son into studying hard by comparing him to his brother at University, was mainly responsible for deteriorating the relationship between the boy and the parents. Y.S. informed me that although his father had never used physical violence, he had often threatened him with it. It is worth bearing in mind that the father was very bitter about

not being able to find a job in Britain which was commensurate with his qualifications. Thus, a loss of self-esteem, lack of job satisfaction, and a sense of being discriminated on the basis of his colour, may well have led to increasing frustration on the part of the father, which he seemed to be 'taking out' on the family. Moreover, Y.S. was not very academically inclined and found it difficult to live up to his father's expectations.

It is worth pointing out that Y.S. and one other girl were the only two respondents who indicated that their parents were subjecting them to undue pressure to do well in school.

Case-study 2:

I.B. was a 16 year old Sikh. His father who was 42 came to Britain from the Punjab 21 years ago. His mother, also 42, joined the father a couple of years later. Both parents have a rural background prior to migration, and both were literate in Punjabi, but did not appear to have any formal qualifications. I.B.'s only other sibling was a 12 year old brother. I.B. was born in Southall, but between the ages of 5-10 he studied at a boarding school in India. This came about because his mother was ill and was advised to live in a warm country; as a result she returned to India for a few years with her two sons.

I.B. was in favour of the idea of his marriage being arranged by his parents. Apparently he had been friendly with a girl but she had left him in favour of another boy. He was against mixed marriages of any type:

> "Us lot have to marry a girl who's the same religion as us. That's the way we are brought up. Because our parents say that if you marry a girl she should be our religion. Well, I think that'll change in a few years. You may be right or your parents may be right. You can't tell. But that's one of the things you have to choose, isn't it. I would say both parent and child are right in their own way".

He noted, rather regretfully it seemed, that in a few generations very few people will believe in religion. He claimed that even though he had cut his hair, "I am still a Sikh. I haven't broken my religion". He

added that Asians must not forget their languages and their cultures, especially since they might be expelled from Britain. "suppose we get chucked out of this country, we'd get kicked around in India if we don't understand the language. It is a problem. We may be chucked out".

In school, I.B. was regarded a difficult pupil. He disliked wearing uniform, and at one stage was regularly truanting from school because, "I got fed up. For a start some teachers don't explain to you. Then when you ask them a question, they start shouting at you. Many teachers don't understand you. I am only entered for exams in two subjects. I dislike the other periods. Don't like the teachers. I hate uniform".

I.B. has been up against the law for stealing. He stated that he stole because in the beginning he did not get enough pocket money. His parents, on the other hand, informed me that it was his friends who tended to lead him astray. He had spent three months in a remand centre. He was often involved in fights between English and Asian boys. He explained that he did not like to mix with the English: "I dislike them". When asked why he felt that way he added, "They call you a Paki and all that. Wogs. That's the thing I dislike".

When asked about his relationship with his parents he informed me that "My parents are normally alright, they're a bit westernized. They don't mind what sort of clothes I wear, because some parents do. They try to stop me from only the bad habits, thieving and all that". According to him, the main reason for his arguments with the parents were his friends.

> "... I can get everything I want, clothes, shoes, all that, but the spending is not the trouble. They know that I smoke and drink and they don't want me to. They don't like my friends;

> that they aren't the right type. Some friends, I can't even let them into the house. Just because they smoke and drink, that doesn't mean that a person is bad. I got so fed up with the arguments at home, I just walked out of the house. They told me to get out, so I got out. I stayed at my cousin's place for a few days".

His parents informed me that I.B. was rather gullible and was easily influenced by other boys into stealing etc. Recently, I came across I.B. Two years after leaving school, he was still unemployed, and was now part of an emerging sub-culture of alienated, unemployed Asian young boys in Southall, a number of whom, like I.B. have police records.

Case-study 3:

C.M. was not part of the 15-16 year old sample. At the time of the interview, she was 17 and as from Autumn of 1976 had a place at Sussex University to read politics. She was highly articulate and independently minded. Her parents were illiterate with rural background prior to migration. She had attended school, not in Southall, but in a neighbouring area.

There were very few Asians in her school, and according to her, she did not remember experiencing racial prejudice. In her early teens, she had contemplated leaving home. In retrospect, she was glad that she had not. It emerged that her father was an alcoholic who used to be physically violent with her mother. At that stage, C.M. was their only child. Because she did not have a son, the mother was made to feel very unhappy and inadequate. None of their relations lived in Southall, and as a consequence the mother suffered from acute loneliness. Subsequently, a son was born. For a while, C.M. said, the atmosphere was very cheerful. Gradually, the situation deteriorated to the same level as it was before. Her mother, who previously used to pay a great deal of attention to C.M.

now became more and more occupied with her new son, whom she probably regarded as her saviour from an unhappy marriage. There were also financial problems at home because the father used to spend a substantial amount on his drinking.

C.M. felt rejected by her mother and frustrated with the arguments and tension at home. She decided she would leave home, and confided in her school counsellor. The counsellor was a sensitive young woman who was able to bring about a reconciliation between the mother and the daughter. The mother informed the counsellor (the counsellor, an English woman, had learnt to speak some Punjabi) that she had not been aware of neglecting her daughter. C.M. told me that life was still fairly complex (her father had subsequently left her mother) but at least she knew her mother and brother cared for her.

Thus it would seem that C.M.'s unhappiness during the period of early adolescence was closely associated with the stress resulting from having an alcoholic father whose relationship with his wife was extremely poor. It is perhaps worth pointing out that C.M. was lucky in meeting a counsellor who had taken considerable pains to familiarize herself with the Asian cultures, and was thus able to analyse the situation in its proper context. In the case of a Muslim girl who was also experiencing some difficulties at home, a different counsellor (some of whose views about the ethnic minorities have been documented in chapter 2) had immediately come to the conclusion that the problem was due to a 'culture clash' between the girl and her 'repressive' parents. This girl was advised by the counsellor to leave home, and the girl was taken into care. The parents felt so humiliated by the fact that their daughter had 'run away' from home that

when the girl returned home, she was sent back to Pakistan. It is possible that an understanding of the predicament facing an Asian parent in such a situation, and accordingly a more sensitive approach by the counsellor to this girl's parents might well have resulted in some form of compromise between the girl and her family. This point has been belaboured mainly in order to indicate, as has also been illustrated by the other three case studies, that situations of conflict between Asian parents and their adolescent children may often have facets which might require an understanding of the culture in order to appreciate the complexity of the situation in its wider context.

When the Asian respondents were asked about the types of activities which their families allowed them to undertake on their own or with friends most reported that they were permitted to visit their own-sex friends, go shopping, go to the cinema, attend school functions and in a minority of cases attend privately-arranged discos. They claimed that they were allowed considerable freedom in choosing their clothes and careers. The girls, however, were restricted from roaming the streets without reason and from going out in the evenings unless they were planning to attend a school function under the supervision of teachers. The girls' reactions to stricter restrictions upon them relative to those imposed on the boys, varied considerably. At one end of the continuum was a girl who thought this justifiable on the grounds that girls were more vulnerable to sexual exploitation: "parents have to be stricter with girls because they can get into trouble". At the other end was a girl who expressed strong resentment at the fact that her brothers were allowed greater freedom:

"My brother has a Sikh girlfriend (they were a Hindu family).

> My mother know but ignores the whole thing. If I did the same she'd tell me off and kick me out of the house. Boys are given freedom, but girls are not. I think it is very unfair. If you give boys freedom, you should give girls freedom as well".

In general, it would seem from above, that these adolescents were permitted a greater degree of freedom than is often imagined. Indeed, they emphasized the point that their parents were much less strict with them than their grandparents had been with the parents.

> "We have more freedom than our parents. They weren't allowed out like we are. I can wear a skirt but my mum wasn't allowed that when she was young. I can talk to boys but it was forbidden to my mum. Their parents just liked the girls to get married. Now if you want to stay on at school, you can. Some parents still do think the girls should get married, but some let them study". (a 15 year old Sikh girl).

> "At their time, they couldn't go out as much as people can go out now. Also, the children in those days couldn't answer their parents back. They can do it now. My parents are much less strict with me than my grandparents were with my parents. Well, my mum doesn't mind me going out as long as she knows where I am and who I am with, but she wouldn't allow me to go out with boys because, as she says, relatives and people start talking". (a 16 year old Hindu girl)

Awareness on the part of the teenagers, of this type of generational change enabled them to appreciate the strict upbringing that their parents had had. Such understanding was often instrumental in diffusing potential conflict between parents and their adolescent off-spring, for a knowledge of the value system from which the parents operated enabled them to interpret their own demands for 'freedom' within the context of the parental perspective.

The role of a young relative, higher up in the hierarchy of familial authority than themselves, as for instance, an elder sister, a young uncle or a sister-in-law emerged as being important in mediating between the teenagers and their parents. In the small number of extended families which I came across, the parents seemed to have largely delegated authority to the eldest sons and their wives. Being of a younger age, these relatives were seen by teenagers to be more sympathetic to their problems. Often, the role of a young relative as a mediator and bonds of affection between

members of the family tended also to diffuse potential conflict. Another strategy employed by the teenagers to minimize conflict was that behaviour disapproved of by the parents was either avoided or engaged in without the knowledge of the parents.

It was partly, perhaps, due to the effect of these conflict-minimizing mechanisms that the reported incidence of serious conflict with parents was low.

English Adolescents

On the question of communication with parents, a noticeable sex difference was evident among the English respondents. While all the boys interviewed claimed to have good communication with their parents, only half of the girls did so. This may be due in part to the fact that, as they informed me, the parents were considerably more strict with girls than with boys. The parents, according to them, were more anxious about the daughters because of the possibility of the girl becoming pregnant. As one girl expressed it:

> "Girls might get pregnant, or they might get raped if they walk along the road on their own. In my parents' generation the bloke always married the girl, but now they just go off and leave the girl. Parents are more worried now".

The interviews with the parents bore this out. In answer to the question concerning the types of anxieties they faced vis a vis their teenage children, the parents mentioned fights and drinking most frequently in relation to the boys, and the prospect of a pre-marital pregnancy most often in relation to girls. It is worth noting that parents from both ethnic groups were found to exhibit a similar anxiety about their daughters. The English parents, however, were comparatively more liberal in their views on the issue of pre-marital sex; they said that they could accept pre-marital sexual involvement on the part of their

children provided it was part of a steady relationship. Almost all English parents were opposed to what they termed as 'casual sex'. The Asian parents, on the other hand, were categorical in their rejection of any pattern of pre-marital sexual involvement as something 'shameful'.

A majority of the English adolescents who claimed to have good communication with the parents indicated that they frequently consulted the parents about things which might be worrying them (the adolescent). In this connection, it was found that the girls tended to approach the mothers more often than the fathers; the reverse pattern was identified with the boys. Not surprisingly, the adolescent whose relationship with parents was more distant, tended to seek the advice of friends rather than parents or teachers.

The most frequently mentioned area of disagreement between the English teenagers and parents concerned the time of returning home in the evening, fashion and clothes, and in some instances the disapproval by parents of the adolescents' friends. However, in a majority of cases, these disagreements were not regarded by the teenagers to be of a serious nature. In this respect the study supports the findings of research conducted by the National Children's Bureau which were presented in a report entitled "Britain's sixteen-year-olds" (NCB, 1976).

Only two girls seemed to have serious differences of opinion with their parents. In one case, the problem of communication existed mainly between the girl and her step-father. The family was poor and lived in intermediate council accommodation which consisted of a dilapidated house. The father refused to be interviewed but the mother informed me that

often "there were bitter arguments" between the girl and her father. According to the girl her father, "will flare up over anything, and tries to force people to do things". A quick temper, an authoritarian bearing and perhaps, the fact of his being her step-father may have been partly responsible for this tension. Further, it emerged that both parents were strongly prejudiced against 'coloured' people, a piece of information which the mother openly volunteered. Apparently a little before the interview with the mother took place, this girl was going out with a West Indian boy, and this, according to the mother, had resulted in many arguments at home. By the time I met the mother, the girl was no longer seeing this boy and the situation at home was reported to be relatively calmer.

The second English girl found it difficult to communicate with her mother. Her sister apparently was 'mentally backward' and had had two pre-marital pregnancies. As a consequence her parents were very strict with my informant. She was not allowed to go out with boys. Her sister had also been involved in shop-lifting, and these two factors would seem to have given the family a bad reputation about which the respondent felt very upset.

> "Because my sister got in trouble, they think I am the same. In the street everybody knows what happened, and when you walk down the street, you see everybody staring at you. And they think you do the same thing. Each time I go out in the street, I feel as though I don't belong there".

She reported that there were frequent arguments at home. She could rarely speak to the mother without an argument developing subsequently: "If I talk to her we've always got different opinions over something, and in the end it grows into a quarrel". As a result of these tensions in the home, she often wished she could leave home.

In general, it is evident that as was the case with the Asian respondents, a majority of the English adolescents did not feel that there was any serious conflict between them and their parents.

Summary

The findings presented in this chapter would seem to illustrate continuity and change in the value systems of the two ethnic and age groups. They indicate that change is gradual and uneven among the different sections of the sample.

Firstly, it became clear that the family continues to play a central role in the lives of Asian adolescents in Southall. Even the 'second generation' adolescents would seem to be quite strongly influenced by it. For instance, the influence was apparent in the evidence that most of the respondents refrained from courting and instead accepted with considerable equanimity the prospect of their marriage being arranged by the parents; it was also reflected in their views on mixed marriages and care of the elderly parents, etc. These findings are supported by other research in the field (Anwar, 1976; Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Ballard, C., 1979; Taylor, 1976).

While the influence of the family upon them seemed significant, it could not be concluded, however, that the Asian adolescents were completely encapsulated into the cultures of the social milieu from which their parents originate. For instance, even those who indicated that they would let their parents arrange their marriages, wished they had the opportunity to court and marry a partner of their own choice. Further, a majority did not seem opposed to the idea of other Asians marrying someone of their own choice from, if necessary, a normally exogamous group. Not surprisingly, change was more strongly apparent in the attitudes of the 'second generation' adolescents than in the attitudes of their 'recently arrived'

counterparts; the former displayed a greater orientation towards non-conformity. One of the more striking findings was that the 'second generation' were almost unanimously in favour of neolocal residence after marriage. This contrasts with the views of the 'recent arrivals' as well as with those of the parental sample who, due to the type of housing stock available, often find themselves living neolocally but would ideally prefer joint-residence. The 'second generation' adolescents quite clearly stated that they would prefer the privacy of their 'own homes'. This emphasis on 'mine' rather than the customary 'ours' would seem to point to an emerging 'individualism' in the belief systems of these young people. Change was also highlighted in the 'second generation's' conceptualisation of 'dowry' as 'presents', in the girls' rather non-traditional attitudes towards housework and child-care which are bound to pressurize traditional sex roles, and so on.

The interviews with parents indicated that there was considerable variation in the attitudes of parents towards the issues under consideration. These ranged from the orthodox to the radical. Variables such as social class, length of residence in Britain, parents' age, and personal histories were all found to have a bearing on the development of their attitudes. There was little evidence that the adult generation was totally inflexible or unchanging. Changes are evidently taking place but at a differential pace among different families. Similarly there was considerable variation among adolescents.

Cross-ethnic comparison indicated that there was, apart from a few differences, substantial similarity in the views of the two ethnic groups

on issues such as divorce, division of labour in the home, care of the elderly and mixed marriage. The opposition to mixed marriage by an overwhelming majority of both Asian and English respondents would seem to highlight the social psychological distance between the two ethnic groups. It will be recalled from chapter 5 that on the basis of factor analysis a dimension of 'cosmopolitanism' was identified in the case of each ethnic group. This dimension was associated with particularly high loadings on two constructs: 'Are against mixed marriages/are in favour of mixed marriages', and 'Stick to their own kind/mix with others'. Subsequent analysis based on factor scores had suggested that neither the English nor the Asian adolescents considered themselves or others of their ethnic group to be particularly 'cosmopolitan'. This finding can now be understood in the context of their negative attitude to mixed-marriage described in the present chapter. Further, the analysis presented in chapters 5 and 6 also indicated that on the 'individualism and independence' factor, but the Asian and English teenagers tended to regard the Asian ethnic group as being considerably less 'individualistic and independent' than both their parents and other Asian adults. Attitudes of the 'second generation' young Asians discussed in this chapter would seem to support the above findings, in that these adolescents indeed displayed an emerging 'idnvidualism' in their belief systems, which tended to distinguish them from their parents. This is not to suggest that the parents lacked individual initiative, but rather that, in the main, for the parents the obligations to the family are more important than those forms of personal gratification which might threaten the co-

operative base of the family. This type of a distinction needs to be made because the particular definition of 'individuality' employed in a piece of research is bound to affect the results obtained. In an American study, for example, the researchers found that 14 to 15 year old Indian and American adolescents (both samples were drawn from small towns away from metropolitan areas of India and the United States so that they would represent relatively traditional values of each culture) did not appear to be significantly different with respect to individuality (Sundberg et al, 1970). This result, however, is not surprising in view of the nature of the item utilized to measure individuality; it constituted a statement, 'Every person should try to be different from other people - to find his own special way of life'. It is evident that this item is sufficiently abstract and idealistic to permit respondents from any culture to agree with it.

Finally, the interviews indicated that among both ethnic groups, reported incidence of serious conflict between parents and their adolescent children was quite low. Communication gaps were mentioned by several adolescents, but in the main arguments centred around fashion, clothes, pocket money, disagreements among siblings, and in the case of the English respondents and Asian boys the homecoming times in the evening; only a small number of respondents reported that their relationships with the family were significantly poor. Where conflict was reported by the Asians, it emerged that in only a few cases could this be labelled as 'cultural conflict'. Mechanisms through which potential conflict may become diffused among Asian families were discussed.

Despite the low incidence of reported conflict, some of the changing attitudes of Asian adolescents towards marriage and family would seem to have implications for future marital relationships. For example, the responses of almost half the Asian girls interviewed towards housework and child-care suggest that they would expect the running of the house to be a joint undertaking between the husband and wife. If their marriages were arranged with men who did not share this view, it was likely that although some girls may adjust to this attitudinal discrepancy, others could easily face difficulties in marriage. Also, it will be remembered that the 'second generation' boys and girls expressed a strong preference for neolocal residence after marriage. Now, in those cases where the pressure from the family might succeed in persuading these young Asians to share accommodation with parents after marriage, difficulties are likely to ensue. A young girl brought up here, for instance, may not accept the authority of her mother-in-law to the same extent that the mother-in-law might wish her to.

The results presented in this chapter have demonstrated that there was considerable discrepancy between what the 'second generation' ideally believed in and what they thought they might do. Discrepancy between professed belief and projected behaviour do not constitute highly reliable criteria on which to base prediction; nevertheless, with all due caution, one might predict that a somewhat higher incidence of familial conflict than identified here might become evident after the adolescents get married, unless of course, and this is also likely, that they are able to readjust their beliefs to match the behaviour or vice-verse.

Chapter 8

Analysis of the Interview Data: Perceptions of School and Educational Issues; and Inter-Ethnic Relations

Introduction

This chapter continues the analysis of the interview data. For purposes of clarity, the respondents' perceptions of school-related issues and inter-ethnic relations are presented here. The sample has already been described in the previous chapter. The main point to note here is that this chapter is based solely on interviews with the in-school sample. The respondents attending the further education centre were not included because the centre was a specialist institution, small in size, informal in atmosphere and with a low pupil-teacher ratio; as such it did not reflect the ethos of the mainstream school system.

8.1 The adolescents' perceptions of school

On the basis of their responses to questions concerned with school, it was found that the pupils could be divided into two separate categories: those with a favourable attitude to school, and those with an unfavourable orientation to it. Within each category, however, the intensity of feeling varied to a considerable extent. The English respondents were represented in each category in almost equal proportions (10 in favour; 11 against). Amongst the Asians, four claimed to be unfavourably disposed towards school but the remaining 21 indicated that they 'liked school'. The above ethnic difference notwithstanding, Asian and English pupils within the same category held remarkably similar views on various aspects of the educational system.

8.1.1 Anti-school pupils

Comments of the following type were typical of this category of pupils:

> "I don't think I like anything about school, really. I don't like some of the teachers and some of the lessons. Sometimes they just pick on me. I don't like this building. It's old, like a prison - long corridors and everything." (16 year old Asian girl)

> "I don't really like any of it. I like hardly any lesson. I just like doing the lesson that I like to do like cookery. I don't like geography, English or maths. I get bored." (16 year old English girl)
>
> " ... it's just one long routine and nothing breaks it." (15 year old English boy)

On the subject of teachers, these pupils were unanimously of the view that a majority of the teachers did not understand teenagers. However, the younger teachers, they thought, displayed greater sensitivity towards pupils; being nearer in age to the adolescents, the younger teachers were seen to be able to empathise with the pupils to a greater extent than older teachers.

The stigmatization of pupils as 'trouble-makers' by the teachers was regarded by them as being crucial in shaping their relationships with the teachers. These labels tended to stick, they said, and often acted as self-fulfilling prophecies in eliciting behaviour of the type which would be congruent with the label. The difficulty of shaking off a label was referred to in comments of the following type:

> "Once you get in to their bad books, it takes a lot to get out, to change their opinion of you. And they talk to other teachers during lunch time so the word gets around." (16 year old Asian boy)
>
> "A lot of teachers - there's loads of them in this school - they say, "This boy is a trouble-maker", and that's it, after that, in their eyes, you can't change. You try to explain your point of view but they don't listen." (16 year old English boy)

That the pupils also 'stigmatise' teachers is illustrated by this quote from an English boy who was regarded by the teachers to be one of the leaders of the 'anti-group' in his class:

> " ... a lot of teachers won't listen to you, so in the end you don't bother trying to explain, and you do what you like. When they come up and say something, you think to yourself, "Oh blimey, it's so and so again. Take no notice, he's always on about the same things, he just doesn't understand your point of view, or how you feel."

This mutual labelling between the pupils and the teachers may lead either to an impasse, or more frequently perhaps to a subtly negotiated truce between the teacher and the so-called 'difficult pupil' (Reynolds, 1976).

Almost all pupils in this category expressed a feeling of being "picked

on". This sense of persecution appeared to lead to a great deal of resentment against school on the part of these pupils. As one girl who claimed that she had been "bunking off, not wearing the right uniform, being rude" expressed it: "Resentment starts because of the way they just order you about. They've been doing it all the time, but it really became obvious in the fourth year."

Several pupils also seemed to reject the status differential between a pupil and teacher:

> "... they stop you in the corridor and you say something and you don't say 'Sir' and they get upset. Well, we haven't got to say 'Sir' to them, they are nothing better than us."
>
> " ... teachers act as though you are inferior ... "
>
> "They treat you as if you are lower than them."
>
> "I don't like the way they try to be superior over you."

It is worth pointing out that pupils in this category were invariably working class. The sentiments noted above may reflect a negative orientation not only towards the authority of the teacher qua teacher, but, perhaps, also towards the higher status associated with the mainly middle class background of the teachers. That social class background constitutes an important variable within schools is by now well known (Cohen 1955; Hargreaves, 1967; McIntyre, Morrison and Sutherland, 1966).

In response to a question asking them to describe an ideal teacher, these pupils mentioned the following characteristics most frequently. (It must be pointed out, however, that similar characteristics were also as frequently mentioned by their 'pro-school' counterparts.)

1. A teacher must be able to maintain discipline without the use of a very authoritarian approach, i.e. he/she must be 'strict' but not 'too strict'.

2. He/she must possess a sound knowledge of the subject which he/she should be able to put across in an interesting and readily comprehensible manner. The teacher should not 'shout' at pupils 'who can't take it all in the first time round', i.e. should have the patience to repeat some parts of the lesson for the benefit of those who did not understand it immediately.

3. He/she must take as much interest in low ability pupils as they seemingly do in the high ability persons: "they shouldn't favour the bright ones" was a typical comment, suggesting that the pupils were aware of some bias in the way teachers related to pupils of different abilities.

4. Teachers should be sensitive to their pupils' personal problems: 'should understand that kids can have all sorts of problems".

5. A teacher should be 'friendly' and 'have a sense of humour' such that the pupils can approach the teacher without feeling in awe of him/her. However, it became clear that they did not regard a teacher as a substitute for a friend. In other words, a teacher, in their view, ought to be friendly, but at the same time should be able to maintain some distance from the pupils.

It is interesting that although a majority of the pupils in this category was rebelling against discipline in schools, they nevertheless expected the teachers to be able to exercise sufficient control and be able to maintain adequate discipline.

It was apparent that the school was valued by these pupils mainly as a venue for meeting friends: "I think you make life-long friends at school, which I think I have. I have got all that I want. It's just that the exams are coming up, and I can't wait to get out." (16 year old English girl).

Although a majority of them was not very academically inclined, they were not unaware of the importance of qualifications in obtaining higher status jobs. While several made reference to the undue pressure which examinations put on the pupils, very few wanted examinations to be abolished: "I reckon exams are alright. It depends on what job you are going for. If you are going to work in a bank, you need exams, don't you." The system they preferred was one in which a number of different forms of assessment were used, with the examinations forming only a part of the assessment.

An overwhelming majority of the pupils in this category was against school uniform. They tended to regard the requirement of wearing uniform as an attempt on the part of the school to stress the dependent as compared

with the adult status of pupils. Many also suggested that it was monotonous and boring to wear the same type of clothes every day. More importantly, however, wearing uniform was seen to imply a capitulation to the authority of the school. These pupils tended to differentiate themselves from the 'pro-school' group by rejecting this symbol of submission to the norms of the school. One 15 year old English boy summed up this reaction in the following words:

> "Well, there is a dividing line between the people who wear school uniform, and the people who don't. You have either got the choice of being in with your mates and not wearing a school uniform, or being in with the teachers all the time and wearing uniform ... all those who wear uniform are meant to be teacher's pets and hard working. But also my friends like to be in with the fashion, and you can't be in with the fashion if you wear uniform."

8.1.2 Pro-school pupils

As would be expected, these pupils displayed a largely positive attitude towards school and education. A substantial majority among these was planning to take 'O' level examinations, and several pupils were hoping to go on to take 'A' level examinations and subsequently enter higher education. It is not surprising, therefore, that what they valued most about school was its role in conferring educational qualifications which would enable them to 'get ahead'. This attitude was expressed in comments of the following type:

> "Education leads to good life - better jobs, better future." (15 year old Asian boy)
>
> "I am working for my own benefit. That'll help me to get a better future." (15 year old English boy)

The role of education in fostering independence was often mentioned by these pupils; comments of the type "You learn to stand up on your own feet" or "You learn to make your own decisions". Several pupils also added that education widens one's social horizons and generates confidence among pupils. Further, all pupils appeared to value school for the opportunities it provided for striking friendships.

Unlike their 'anti-school' counterparts, these pupils did not report any feelings of being "picked-on" by teachers. This would suggest that the teachers were rather favourably disposed towards them which, perhaps, is not surprising in view of the fact that a majority of the pupils in this category were academically oriented, and as a result would be well thought of by the teachers. That there is a positive relationship between academic performance, behaviour, and teachers' evaluation of the pupil has been well illustrated by Lacey (1970). The thesis which his data fully supported was as follows:

> "1. A boy who is good at work tends to behave well because by doing so he supports the school system that gives him high status.
>
> 2. A boy who is bad at work tends to behave badly to dissociate himself from a system that gives him low status.
>
> 3. Teachers well disposed towards a well behaved boy tend to encourage praise and even raise marks as a reward for trying hard.
>
> 4. Teachers ill disposed toward a badly behaved boy tend to criticise, punish and reduce marks as a further method of punishment." (Lacey, 1970: 82)

Even the academically less able pupils in this category, by virtue, perhaps, of being 'pro-school' may have chosen to conform to the image of the 'good pupil' by behaving well and keeping a low profile. They too, therefore, would be less likely to be 'picked on' by teachers.

Compared with the 'antis', these respondents were found to be more unequivocally in favour of examinations, although they too preferred them to be used in conjunction with other forms of assessment. Further, in contrast to the 'antis', a majority of these was in favour of school uniforms. Among the reasons given for favouring uniform were: (1) neatness of appearance; (2) uniform facilitated the development of stronger identity with schcol; (3) uniform constituted a symbol of discipline; (4) uniform was more egalitarian in that it tended to level the visible differences between pupils with rich and poor backgrounds. It must be pointed out,

however, that even these pupils protested against too stringent an enforcement of uniform, and added that some degree of choice must be permitted. Pupils from the ex-grammar school, for example, frequently complained against the school tie and the fact that even the socks they wore had to be of a particular colour and type.

Lastly, a majority of the 'pro-school' pupils echoed the view of the 'antis' and suggested that younger teachers were better able to relate to teenagers. However, a small number amongst them made the point that older teachers possessed a wisdom accumulated through experience of working with young people and this enabled them to understand their pupils better than younger teachers.

On other issues, the views of respondents could not be distinguished on the basis of their membership of the two categories discussed above. Nor were any striking ethnic differences evident. Thus, an overwhelming majority of the pupils was found to be in favour of mixed rather than single-sex schools. Respondents indicated that it was important for members of the opposite sex to learn to relate to one another without feeling unduly shy or inhibited; single-sex schools were felt to perpetuate shyness and inhibition. With reference to the teaching of sex education in schools, again an overwhelming majority expressed a preference for the subject to be taught in schools. The main reason given for this was that most parents feel inhibited about discussing the subject with their children. Only one Asian girl, and a few English boys and girls, reported that their parents had given them any information on the subject. Most respondents indicated that the schools should adopt a more integrated approach to the teaching of sex education such that all pupils instead of only those studying biology or social studies would be exposed to it. A majority appeared to regard 14 as the appropriate age when the subject should be taught; a few respondents on the other hand, suggested that information should be available from the

age of eleven.

On the question of discipline in schools, the ex-grammar school was perceived as having the most adequate discipline by pupils from all three secondary schools in the area. The pupils in the other two schools were inclined to feel that their own teachers should be stricter with pupils in order to establish better discipline in those schools. Although most of the pupils were against corporal punishment, they were nevertheless in favour of some form of deterrents to be used by schools, such as depriving a pupil of the opportunity to engage in an activity he/she enjoyed doing. Discipline could also be improved, they indicated, if incidence of truancy was reported immediately to the parents. Absenteeism from school by pupils was attributed by these respondents primarily to boredom with particular subjects, poor relationship with teachers, and peer group pressure to 'show off'. In the case of Asian pupils, truancy was said to be associated also with the fact that some Asian pupils tried to meet up with friends of the opposite sex during the school hours mainly because their parents would not normally allow them to have friends of the opposite sex.

It is interesting that the 'pro' and 'anti' group had similar views on the desirability of discipline in school. It would seem that it is not as if the 'antis' were not cognizant of the importance of the "rules of the game", but rather, they might have felt that working within the framework of these rules was unlikely to improve their future prospects. Unlike the 'pros', they did not express the belief that "education leads to good life". Their expectations had, perhaps, long since been pared down. As Reynolds suggests,

> "An alternative view of truancy - a view rarely adopted - is to see it as a form of rebellion against a system which the children feel has little to offer them. Working class children may thus see the school as an alien institution, whose middle class teachers deny them status, and may therefore rebel against it by truanting." (Reynolds,1976: 127)

The fact that only a small number of Asian pupils had adopted an anti-school stance, would seem to indicate that for the time being at least the Asians continue to place high value on educational qualifications.

8.2 Parents' perceptions of school

This section is concerned with the parents' view of the education system. The same topics which had been discussed with their children were pursued with the parents.

8.2.1 Asian parents' view of the education system

The interviews with the parents suggested a dichotomy between those parents who were critical of the education system and others who were not. Further, it was found that the 29 pairs of parents were represented almost equally in the two categories (15 critical; 14 uncritical).

8.2.1.1 Asian parents who were critical of the education system

Out of the 15 fathers in this category, 10 had university education, and four out of these were teaching in schools in Britain. Seven families out of these 10 had migrated from the Sub-continent, two from Kenya and one from Singapore. The remaining five sets of parents were literate in their mother-tongue but had only a limited knowledge of English; in terms of the country of origin prior to migration, three out of the five families were from Kenya, one from Singapore and one from India. Thus it can be seen that parents in this category were either middle class or from East Africa or both.

As regards the East Africans, it is worth bearing in mind that the schools which most Asians in East Africa attended were strongly geared towards the achievement of 'O' and 'A' level passes. Although mixed ability in composition, the ethos of these schools was primarily academic. In contrast, two of the schools which the adolescents attended were ex-modern schools. In view of the more academically orientated school system with which they were familiar in East Africa, it was not surprising to find that

a majority of the parents from East Africa held the ex-grammar school in much higher esteem than the ex-modern schools; the parents whose children attended this school were generally more satisfied with the type of education that their offspring were receiving. Most parents made favourable comments regarding the academic standards as well as discipline in this particular school.

As indicated earlier, this category of parents were critical of the education system. Their dissatisfaction seemed to be centred around the following:

1. The schools, in their view, lacked adequate discipline. Several parents noted that the principle of child-centred education had been carried to such an extreme that teachers had little control over their pupils, and among the latter mental discipline and the ethic of hard work had been seriously eroded. The children, they felt, did not appear to be interested in education. A father who was teaching in a secondary school expressed this point of view as follows:

> "Children these days get things so easily that the ethic of hard work is almost entirely absent. Their expectations are vague and clouded. Asian children have started to imitate English children and have started showing disrespect to the teachers. The Asian children suffer from an inferiority complex. They join in with the English and make fun of Asian teachers."

2. The academic standards in state schools, they observed, were low. They attributed this fact to failings in the system rather than individual pupils. As one father explained it:

> "A large number of school leavers cannot read or write. The English explain it away in terms of the family background of the children or their low ability. Hardly 5% of the pupils take 'O' level examinations and another 20% take C.S.E.s. The rest do not take any exams. I find it hard to believe that 75% of the school population is stupid. The education system does not cater for the needs of the children. It underestimates their capabilities and does not push them to their full potential."

3. A number of parents seemed to feel that the inadequacies of the education system were closely related to the political system which, in their view, was geared mainly towards maintaining an adequate supply of the

labour force. The following quotes are illustrative of this view:

> "The system wants to keep them uneducated, to produce labour for the factories."
>
> "Kids are not being educated; they are being prepared to man the factories."
>
> "I think there is a dual education system in this country - one for the working class and one for the upper classes. The upper classes send their children to public schools where the standards are high. Our children go to schools with working class kids. Only an exceptionally bright child can succeed in these schools."
>
> "They want our children to become labour class."

4. Several parents felt that there was colour prejudice in schools. One mother, for instance, informed me that she felt that there was an invisible 'colour bar' in schools. A father suggested that there was a tendency for 'immigrants' in Britain to be treated as a 'problem'. This image, he felt, had a detrimental effect on the self-concept of Asian children. Further, he felt that teachers tended to have lower expectations of Asian pupils than of English boys and girls and that those expectations can become self-fulfilling prophecies. Another father, who also believed that there was discrimination in schools, cited the example of his son who apparently was a rather difficult pupil once. The school decided to expel him, yet, according to the father, no such action was planned against English pupils with similar behavioural problems. He suspected that the reason for the more punitive approach on the part of the school towards his son reflected a racial bias. It was the timely intervention of an Asian teacher, he felt, which had saved his son from expulsion. The teacher seemingly took a personal interest in the boy and at the time of the interview, the boy was preparing to sit 'O' level examinations.

5. Quite a few parents expressed concern at the limited opportunities in schools for Asian pupils to learn Asian languages or about the cultures of the Sub-continent. In addition, they felt that there was racial bias in the curriculum. As one father put it:

> "Their story books depict our life from a colonial viewpoint - show us as uncivilized people; Sabu, the elephant boy. In our societies we have doctors, scientists, lawyers, politicians. At least the schools should reflect reality, if they want harmony. They should try to depict the bright side of our society also. Why do we always have to be snake charmers or elephant boys?"

The schools, he observed, should foster a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect by emphasizing the inter-dependence of nations: "Children drink tea, coffee, sugar etc. from these countries; yet they have no respect for the pupils from there."

8.2.1.2 Asian parents who were uncritical of the education system

Unlike the previous category of parents, none of these had university education. A great majority of the fathers was literate in mother tongue but most of the mothers were illiterate. Only two fathers spoke some English.

When asked what their views were on the type of education that their children were receiving, the typical reply which these parents gave was, "Education is alright", with an immediate addendum that they were 'uneducated' and did not know much about what went on in schools. Their children comprised their main source of information on the school system. Given this lack of knowledge, it is not surprising that they did not offer any detailed appraisal.

There was a strong tendency on the part of these parents to transfer authority to schools. Further, they did not feel that they had the right to demand changes and were likely to defer to the authority of the schools with almost a sense of impotence: "Aithe sada wa ni chalda" (perhaps the nearest translation would be, "here we are powerless"). This sense of powerlessness seemed, in part, to stem from an awareness that they lacked certain skills with which to manipulate the system in the way that the 'educated' people could; but, in addition, it was also related to a feeling on their part that as immigrants they should not impose on the receiving

society. For instance, several of these parents indicated that they would ideally prefer their children to attend single-sex schools, but did not feel that they could ask for such provision in Britain. In general, they preferred to keep a low profile on these matters.

This category of Asian parents were likely to regard teachers as an extension of the family, almost as quasi-kin, or surrogate parents during the school hours; they appeared to expect the teachers to evaluate the conduct of their children according to Asian social norms. This was almost a sub-conscious expectation. One set of parents, for instance, informed me that they had heard that a number of Asian boys from outside school were regularly seen at the gates of the schools, ostensibly waiting to pick up Asian girls. The parents felt that the teachers should censure such behaviour. In other words, by implication the teachers were expected to apply Asian rather than their own moral standards in judging the behaviour of Asian pupils. It was not that the parents were not aware of the discrepancy between Asian and English social norms concerning interaction between the opposite sexes, because in fact they made frequent references to the influence of the western cultures on their children, but somehow it was the English children and not the teachers who were considered to be the primary transmittors of this influence. It was almost as if the teachers were seen as a 'culture-free' abstraction, rather than as individuals likely to subscribe to their own cultural norms which in this case would be the norms of the English middle class.

Compared with their middle class counterparts, these Asian parents were less likely to appreciate the cross-pressures to which their adolescent children were subjected. It was usually these parents whose children were prone to make a remark such as, " ... there are certain things that they just can't understand." As noted in the last chapter, despite this lack of communication there were no signs of imminent rebellion on the part of

a majority of the adolescents against the parents. This was partly because the adolescents seemed to appreciate the fact that if the parents did not understand their children it was not necessarily because they did not want to but because a number of things were beyond their range of experiences. Rebellion, if it does occur, is as likely to be associated with a number of other variables (see case studies in Chapter 7), and Asian adolescents with middle class backgrounds may not be any the less prone to it. However, whether Asian adolescents with 'less educated' parents are more likely to consider actions such as leaving home than their counterparts whose parents were more educated/articulate/middle class is a question for further research.

On other issues, the views of Asian parents who were critical of the education system and those who were not, were found to compare as follows:

Parent Teacher Associations

As would be expected, comparatively more parents in the first category (all but two pairs) than in the second (only one pair) claimed that they tried to attend these meetings. Those who attended indicated that attendance was important because it tended to make the teachers take a greater interest in their child. The non-attenders gave their inability to speak English, and in some cases shiftwork, as the main reasons for not attending the meetings. Altogether, 15 out of 29 pairs of parents indicated that they tried to attend as often as they could. However, in view of the fact that 13 out of these 15 fathers (for it was usually the fathers who attended) had university degrees, these figures cannot be taken to suggest a generally high rate of attendance at Parent Teacher Association meetings by the Asians. The parents who were uncritical of the education system and of whom only one seemed to attend the meetings, are more likely to be representative of the general Asian population in Southall.

Single-sex schools

A majority of the 'critical' parents (10 out of 15) were in favour of

mixed sex schools. Their attitude seemed to be that since the adolescents have to live in a mixed-sex world, they should learn to relate to the opposite sex. However, it is worth pointing out that their notion of 'relating' meant mixing as fellow students, and not as potential marriage partners; that is, they did not wish their children to use the contact established in school to initiate courtship. A typical comment was:

> "Well, boys and girls, they have to learn to live together. Learn one another's ways, feelings. I don't believe in putting a girl in a cage. But they should know their responsibility (to the family) as well."

Further, it was evident that academic standards in education were of greater importance to many of these parents than whether or not the school was single-sex or mixed: "I don't mind any school as long as the standard of education is good."

Compared with above, fewer parents in the second category (6 out of 14) were positively in favour of mixed-sex schools. The remaining eight indicated that ideally they would prefer single sex schools; however, with the exception of one father, none raised any strong objections to mixed sex schools.

In general, it can be suggested that a majority of the Asian parents interviewed in this study did not evince any strong opposition to mixed sex education.

Sex education

Surprisingly, a majority of the Asian parents were found to favour the teaching of sex education in schools. The overall feeling was that the adolescent should be made aware of the serious nature of the social consequences of pre-marital sexual involvement. Most Asian parents reported that although ideally the responsibility for sex education should be shared between the family and the school, they found it difficult to discuss these matters with their children. In the main, the parents did not believe that sex-education was likely to lead to promiscuity. It is interesting that

compared with 6 families in the first category of parents, only 2 in the second expressed disapproval of the subject being taught in schools. This may be due in part to the fact that the educated parents (category 1) may feel less inhibited in discussing the subject with their children than their less educated (category 2) counterparts. Hence, the latter, knowing that they were unlikely to discuss the subject with their offspring, thought it best that the schools tackle it. This would seem to be another instance of the greater tendency on their part to transfer responsibility and authority to school. In general, parents who expressed a disapproval of the subject being taught in school did so on the grounds that sex was an instinct which adolescents learnt as they grew up, and that discussing the subject may lead to experimentation on their part.

Uniform

An overwhelming majority of the Asian parents (27 pairs out of 29) was in favour of school uniform. They observed that uniform-clad pupils looked smart; that uniform encouraged greater identification with the school, and thereby contributed to increased discipline; that it was economical whereas fashion clothes were expensive; and that wearing of uniform was more egalitarian in that pupils from financially better off families would not turn up better dressed than those from less well off families. Moreover, in the absence of uniform adolescents, they argued, were more preoccupied with what they wear than with their studies.

The parents who argued against the uniform had large families. They informed me that uniforms were expensive and, in any case, teenage children were bound to want fashion clothes as well. The uniform, therefore, constituted an extra expense which they could not afford to incur.

Examinations

Asian parents were found to be unanimously in favour of examinations. However, like their children, they seemed to feel that examinations should not be used as the sole criterion for assessment and other forms of continuous assessments should also be utilized.

Discipline

It will be recalled that parents in the first category had made the point that apart from the ex-grammar school, the other two schools were characterized by inadequate discipline. The less educated parents (category 2) explained that they were not very familiar with the extent of discipline enforced in schools but according to hearsay, it was not adequate. If this were the case, they argued, teachers ought to adopt stricter measures to ensure discipline.

Ideal teacher

When asked to describe an ideal teacher, the following characteristics were most frequently mentioned by Asian parents:

1. A teacher should be able to maintain discipline; should be kind but firm.

2. A teacher should be able to generate interest and enthusiasm about his/her subject among the students, and should be flexible enough to gear the content and teaching style to suit the differential abilities of his/her pupils.

3. A teacher should be sympathetic towards and patient with slow learners and should take as much interest in them as in the high ability pupils.

4. A teacher should be dedicated to his/her profession. .

5. A teacher should not over-subscribe to a non-directive approach: "Children should leave school with an open mind but without the feeling that they have no guidelines, no direction."

8.2.2 English parents' perceptions of the education system

On the basis of their comments, it was evident that like their Asian counterparts, English parents could also be classified broadly into those who claimed to be strongly dissatisfied with the education system and those

who were relatively uncritical. Eight sets of parents were found to display attitudes characteristic of the first category and seven sets of the second.

8.2.2.1 English parents who were critical of the education system

The main distinguishing feature of this category of parents appeared to be that they might be classified as the 'respectable' working class/ lower middle class (a wharehouse supervisor, a retired policeman, a capstan operator-setter, self-employed owner of a local hairdressing shop etc.). This category of English parents tended to preface their views on the education system with a comment such as, "We are not at all satisfied with the system ...". In the main, the following areas of dissatisfaction were identifiable:

1. The schools, in their view, lacked discipline. Too strong an emphasis on child-centred education was, in part, seen to be responsible for the situation: "Kids these days are allowed to do their own thing too much. If they don't want to learn, they are sent into classes where they needn't do anything." According to them, the narrowing wage differentials between skilled and unskilled occupations were also partly to blame:

> "Teenagers have lost interest in trades or skilled jobs because these jobs do not pay very well; so they think, 'why bother, what is the point of all this training'. So they don't take much interest in school work and become disruptive."

Not surprisingly, the ex-grammar school was considered by most of them to have adequate discipline.

2. Like the Asian parents who were critical of the education system, these English parents expressed a dissatisfaction with the seemingly falling academic standards. However, unlike the Asians who tended to attribute this to the failings in the system itself, a number of English parents attributed these to the presence of the 'immigrants' in school. "Too many Indians. They hold back our kids." was a typical sentiment expressed in this connection.

3. A number of misgivings were expressed by these parents against the

comprehensive system of education. In their minds, comprehensive schools were associated with large intake of pupils, consequent impersonal atmosphere, and a fall in discipline. As one father put it:

> "It has made schools so large. Children are no longer individuals. In the old system able children could get to a grammar school. Because the schools were small, relationships between teachers and pupils used to be good. If I had the money I would send my children to a public school. They have the best teachers and the best facilities."

A mother observed:

> "We used to have home-room teachers with whom we could discuss our problems. These days they merely have someone to do the register. Our head and teachers used to know us by name - if we did anything wrong we got a clout. Nowadays there is no respect for the teachers. Most of the time one can't tell the teachers from the pupils."

The only middle-class father in this category of parents expressed his view thus:

> "Comprehensive system is good in theory but very unsatisfactory in practice. The numbers are too high. They are having to make do with second best facilities, with the existing staff and buildings."

8.2.2.2 English parents who were relatively uncritical of the education system

These parents had little formal education and, in the main, were engaged in unskilled jobs. One professional middle class family was also part of this category. However, it is worth bearing in mind that, firstly, this family's son was attending the ex-grammar school, which it will be recalled had a good reputation in Southall. Their only other child, a daughter, was enrolled at a single-sex grammar school in a middle class part of Heston, where they now lived. The relative satisfaction on their part with the education system, may, in part, be attributable to the above. Secondly, the father seemed to subscribe to the view that the educationalists were responsible professionals who should be permitted to implement their policies without undue hinderance:

> "I am not in agreement with parent teacher associations. They tend to throw up one or two people of strong personality who dominate and tend to interfere with the school policy. I do not necessarily believe that the education policy should be left entirely in the hands of educationalists. My policy is that let the professionals do their job but watch them."

This family, therefore, was knowledgeable about the education system and had succeeded in obtaining for their children the type of education they wanted. They were, thus, untypical of other parents in this category, whose uncritical orientation to the system was not based on a secure feeling that their offspring were being trained to obtain high status jobs, but rather on a lack of knowledge of the system and a sense of inadequacy in the face of it. Like the Asian parents with little formal education, these English respondents tended to defer to the authority of the school and attributed the blame for 'not getting on in school' to the individual pupils rather than to the system. The attitude seemed to be that 'school knows best' as is illustrated by the following quote from a mother:

> "I don't know much about school. My son never tells me anything, but if he wasn't willing to take interest, it isn't the school's fault. Everyone has a fair chance of getting on in school."

Further, it was found that although parents in the first category were not much more likely than these respondents to attend Parent Teacher Association meetings, the latter were more likely to say that they abstained from attending because they felt uncomfortable at these meetings. The following comments would seem to illustrate this point:

> "I went once or twice, but I stopped going. You were alright as long as you were in the know."

> "It is a cliquey lot that go. You feel out of it."

Thus in this respect, too, these parents were similar to their Asian counterparts. Overall, five out of the total fifteen pairs of English parents claimed that at least one of the pair tried to attend Parent Teacher Association meetings as often as they could. Thus a majority of the English parents in the sample did not attend these meetings.

The two categories of English parents appeared to be indistinguishable in terms of their attitudes to other issues. These are described below.

Single-sex schools

A rather unexpected finding was that almost half the English parents indicated that single-sex schools might be preferable to mixed-sex. Their preference was based on the view that the presence of the opposite sex in school served to distract pupils from academic work. Further, they felt that boys were likely to "show off" more in mixed-sex schools, thereby creating problems of discipline, and that the girls tended to become too preoccupied with their looks and fashion when the boys were present. This preference, however, should not be taken to indicate that the parents were opposed to mixed-sex schools. Indeed, some degree of mixing between the two sexes was considered desirable by all English parents.

Sex education

English parents were unanimously of the view that sex-education should be part of the school curriculum. However, they were adverse to a purely clinical approach. Instead, they wished information to be discussed within the context of family and personal relationships. Only one mother indicated that she was in favour of a clinical approach and that the responsibility for teaching morality resided with the parents.

In general, the respondents seemed to feel that the parents should also share the responsibility of imparting information to children on this subject, but many explained that parents were likely to feel inhibited in broaching the subject with their children. Yet only one mother reported that she could not discuss the subject at all with her offspring; other parents suggested that they answered questions as they arose. An overwhelming majority of the parents did not believe that teaching of the subject lead to experimentation on the part of the teenagers. An easy availability of contraceptives was seen by some parents to contribute to such experimentation.

Uniform

A majority of the English parents (ten pairs out of fifteen) was found to be in favour of school uniform. The reasons given by them for their support of the uniform were almost identical to those given by 'pro-school' pupils of both ethnic groups as well as by Asian parents, namely that wearing of uniform improves appearance, fosters greater identification with school, instills discipline, is egalitarian, is less expensive than fashion clothes of which one would require several, and "stops them from trying to outdo each other".

The five families who were against uniform seemed to feel that uniforms tended to prevent the expression of individuality ("they look like sheep to me"), and were costly. It is interesting that the cost of the uniform was mentioned by all parents, but those who were in favour of uniform argued that in actual fact uniform works out to be less costly than fashion clothes.

Examinations

Again, the views of English parents were very similar to those of Asian parents and adolescents of both ethnic groups. Only three sets of parents indicated that because of the undue pressure that they exert on pupils examinations should be completely replaced by continuous assessment. The majority seemed to feel that examinations should be coupled with continuous assessment, but that they should not be abolished, primarily because they constituted one of the most reliable methods of assessment and one which is recognised by the employers.

Ideal Teacher

The English parents' description of the ideal teacher was found to be very similar to that provided by Asian and English pupils and Asian parents. The characteristics most frequently mentioned were as follows:

1. A teacher should be able to maintain discipline. He/She should be

strict, have a strong character, and should be able to manipulate situations: "Should be like a psychiatrist - should be able to sus the right tactics."

2. Should be friendly, fair and kind but firm at the same time.

3. Should be consistent and predictable.

4. Should be able to interest the pupils in his/her subject and gear the teaching to the needs of pupils with differing abilities.

5. Should not discriminate: "He looks nicer than the other, he is brighter than the other".

It can be seen that the image of an 'ideal' teacher which emerges from the data discussed in this chapter stresses qualities such as sensitivity, patience and fairness. An 'ideal' teacher is expected to be flexible (i.e. be able to gear the teaching style to meet the differing needs of pupils with differential abilities) and be able to maintain discipline in the classroom.

The discussion so far has highlighted the considerable similarity between ethnic groups in so far as their perceptions of school and education system are concerned. The attitudes of the 'pro-school'/'anti-school' pupils and the 'critical'/'relatively uncritical' parents brought into focus variables other than ethnic background such as the pupils' perceptions of labelling by teachers, the socio-economic status of the families, and the educational background of the parents. However, that the ethnic variable plays an important role in shaping interaction (or the lack of it) between Asians and Whites in Southall was clearly borne out by the respondents' views on mixed marriages (see last chapter) and by their responses to be discussed in the next section.

9.3 Perceptions of Southall - an index of ethnic polarisation

No questions of a direct nature about ethnic perceptions were initiated by me. The respondents were asked to describe those features of Southall which they most/least liked. The question almost invariably led to comments

by one ethnic group about the other. Once this had occurred, the question would be followed by other closely related ones such as those seeking to ascertain their views on immigration controls and repatriation.

The responses indicated that social and psychological distance between the Asians and the English in the sample was considerable. Some of the negative features of Southall were, of course, cited by both ethnic groups, as for example, that Southall was overcrowded, was characterized by incessant traffic noise (it is situated on the main route from London to the West) and that there was a woeful shortage of leisure facilities. With reference to the latter, they reported that facilities for sports were limited, there was no indoor heated swimming pool for use in winter, there were very few discoes, no cinemas showing English films, no theatres and so on.

It would seem that a number of the existing facilities for leisure/ entertainment were de facto segregated. For instance, a youth club which was part of the local authority provision, was at one stage rarely visited by Asian or West Indian teenagers because it was seen to be the preserve of white teenagers. Subsequently, a few West Indians began to attend, and apparently the White teenagers gradually stopped coming. While visiting a youth club which was almost exlusively used by Asian boys, I asked one of the boys why he did not attend the other youth club. His reply was that that was "a white youth club. You just don't feel at home there." Similarly, the pubs in the area, as already discussed in Chapter 3, rarely attract a 'multi-racial' clientele; instead the Asians, the West Indians, the Irish and the English all apparently tend to congregate in separate pubs.

9.3.1 English respondents' views of Southall

Some of the main complaints made by the English about Southall were that it contained too many Asians, that the Asians had 'taken over', and

that somehow they were responsible for the seeming decline in the area.

The following type of comments were typical:

> "Southall is too overpopulated with them. Such a lot of them. It is alright if they move up to Birmingham, somewhere different because they all like to come in one place ... It makes some people not like them and they move out of the area. Some of the white people move out of the area. Some people can't afford to move and they are stuck by themselves." (An English boy)

> "I think they have taken over Southall. I suppose people just don't like the way they live, the smell of their food, it gets down your throat because you're not used to it. It is not so tidy as it used to be. I think they have mucked it up a bit really. A lot of old people, they complain, they said it used to be a nice country place and everything, and they have taken over all the shops, and it is horrible round here now." (An English girl)

> "We resent them and we'll influence our children. Even when I was five, you'd mix with them in school but never have them in your house. It is colour, not culture. You always feel you are white, you are brown, you are black." (An English boy)

His father observed:

> "We have emigrated to other countries. Educated them, raised their standard of living, but they are allowing in too many. The black man is getting more educated and the white man doesn't like it. I was brought up to believe that black man was a slave. Now they want the same standard as us! We don't like it."

A mother:

> "I am moving out because there is no future for my children in Southall. There are no shops or other facilities."

Her husband interjected:

> "The facilities are there but proprietors have changed."

Wife:

> "Indian shops are over-run by mice. We never used to get mice in our house until the Asians moved in next door. Look at their garden - It is filth."

Husband:

> "Our own garden too is over-run by weeds."

Wife:

> "Ours is just overgrown. Theirs is filth and dirt."

A mother:

> "I was in Southall when the Indian came. They were brought as cheap labour. They don't want to mix with us - don't try to learn the language. We try to get on. We feel resentful. My mother says that we were kicked out of India, now they are all here. People blame them for the economic crisis. But our economy would fall down if they all went home. Who would run our buses and our hospitals?"

Both the adolescents and their parents were unanimously in favour of stringent controls against immigration. Although a few observed that immigration from all countries should be reduced, it became clear that a majority used the term 'immigration' to refer to immigration from the Sub-continent and the West Indies, that is, black immigration. On the question of repatriation, however, my respondents were rather circumspect. A majority felt that repatriation would now not be feasible and that immigration controls were the answer.

9.3.2 The Asian respondents' perceptions of Southall

A majority of the Asian parents informed me that they liked living in Southall. The availability of shops, restaurants, cinemas, temples and other businesses catering for the Asian clientele were cited as one of the major attractions of the place. Parents with little or no knowledge of the English language particularly valued the opportunity of being able to buy from shopkeepers with whom they could communicate. Some Asian families indicated that they had relations living in the area, and that this proximity enabled them to maintain close contact with these relations. An overwhelming majority also noted that since the 'race situation' was deteriorating (this was the summer when a youth was killed in the area), it was more secure to live in an area where Asians were represented in substantial numbers.

A majority of the parents indicated that they did not have any firm plans to return to the Sub-continent unless the political situation made it imperative for them to leave. At an individual level, several families reported that they had good relations with their English neighbours, but

would add that "generally whites don't like us". A majority of the parents had very little contact with English people in informal situations. Despite this, there was little evidence of a categorical condemnation of the western values by them. The general attitude seemed to be that it was a different way of life, which was 'alright for them but not necessarily for us'. Indeed, a few of the respondents, especially women, who found the close-knit Asian family structure rather too constraining, made complimentary references to the greater degree of individual freedom enjoyed by their English counterparts. It is interesting to note that a majority of the middle class Asian families were likely to make a distinction between the lifestyles of the English working class and the middle class; it was the former rather than the latter which they professed to have an unfavourable orientation towards. It is worth pointing out, however, that quite often they were equally denigrating about the Asians with a rural background or about those from the lower status groups ("chhote tabke de bande" as they called them). Similarly, the two English families of professional middle class background made rather uncomplimentary references to Southall as a working class area which they always considered a "low quarter" with a 'rough element'. This would seem to demonstrate that persons with a similar social class background are likely to develop certain similar attitudes which transcend ethnic boundaries.

Many Asian parents made reference to racial discrimination in Britain and observed that Asians should 'stand up for equal rights', but as far as possible, should work towards this goal through legal procedures available. Should racial conflict manifest itself on the streets, however, a majority said that militant action in defence was justifiable. Over half of the Asian parents were interviewed after Gurdip Singh Chaggar's murder that summer, and, without exception, they were found to be sympathetic to the more militant tactics adopted by Asian youth, albeit with the qualifier that

any form of violence or intimidation against innocent whites should not be condoned

Unlike their parents, Asian teenagers tended to exhibit considerable ambivalence towards Southall. Although they too appreciated the amenities such as Asian shops and cinemas, a number of them suggested that they felt constrained by the informal social controls operating within the Asian communities in the area. For instance, one boy described an aspect of constraints as follows:

> "In Southall, you can't keep it a secret if you are going out with a girl. All the Indian people know you. If you are with a girl, they stare as if they have never seen anything like this before."

Gossip constitutes an important means of social control in Southall and most adolescents feared it.

A number of young Asians seemed to want to dissociate themselves from the 'ghetto' image of the area. Their replies suggested that some of them were embarrassed by certain types of public behaviour of their fellow Asians. Further, they often seemed to hold rather uncomplimentary stereotypes of Asians pointing, perhaps, to a nascent negative identification with their ethnic group:

> "I don't like it (Southall). It is too dirty. Too many Indians. Indian people don't care about litter. It's the way they act. They stand on the pavement and chat for hours and block all the way. There is too many Indians."

> "I think one bad thing about the Indian people is that they overcrowd their houses and generally they don't live very nice lives because they have so many people. Mothers go off to work, they never look after their children, and if the mother goes to work then there is no one to do the housework, and so the house is constantly dirty."

> "People, Indian people, especially around the shops. The shops open from Monday to Sunday continuously, they keep them open long hours, I think this spoils our reputation. And the way Indians, especially Indian children, dress up in pyjamas and walk in the streets. The streets are not well cleaned, they leave the rubbish around."

On the other hand, an overwhelming majority valued the sense of security the place provided.

> "One thing though, when you come from somewhere else, say you go shopping in Ealing or somewhere, you see all English people. When you come back to Southall, they are mostly Indian. It sort of makes you feel at home."
>
> " ... I wouldn't like to leave here because I would feel kind of homesick. People are friendly."
>
> "Southall is not very nice, it is not very clean compared to other cities, but as I have been brought up in Southall, I wouldn't want to move away. It is my home."

The importance of such security would seem to be attenuated by perceived racism in society. Almost all adolescents I spoke to made reference to colour prejudice. The following types of responses were typical:

> "This school is divided into two really. All the white people stay united and all the coloured people stay united ... Well, the people I know don't seem to bother about my colour. But, well, let's say there is a white boy and an Indian boy fighting, right? All the whites will stick up for the white boy, whether he is right or wrong, and all the coloured will stick up for the coloured boy. Why? Because he is coloured. You see, that's where it comes. It becomes an argument between two different colours, that's how the division comes." (A fifteen year old girl)

A 16 year old boy who claimed that he used to get involved in group fights with white adolescents expressed it thus:

Q. Why did you fight?
A. Just anger.
Q. What were you angry about?
A. How white people treat you. They treat you like dirt. They swear at us, they call us names and things. We don't do nothing to them and they come up and swear at us - tell us to go back to our country. We just pick on those who call us names, or swear at our parents. We just beat them up.

Another such boy explained:

A. I don't like to mix with them (English). I dislike them.
Q. Why?
A. Their attitudes.
Q. What sort of attitudes?
A. The way they start talking about you. They call you Paki Wog, and all that. That's the thing I dislike.

He added that previously he used to 'just walk away' when confronted with such abuse, but not any more: "I start arguing as well. I have been in a fight five or six times.".

> "Another problem in Southall is that the English people are not prepared to be your friends. Even if they are your friends they always keep reminding you that you are an Indian, and that you are in their country intruding, and things like that." (A 16 year old girl)

> "They are more liable to give the job to the English man. I don't know why they don't like the Indian people. I suppose it's just that this is my country, and he is my own nationality, so they give him the job, but with the Indian, they don't want to know him." (A 15 year old boy)

When asked what they thought about the feeling on the part of many English residents of Southall that Asians had 'taken over' Southall, they gave the following type of responses:

> "Talk about taking jobs away, when they came into our countries let alone taking the jobs away they took the country away and didn't do much good to it. We are not taking jobs, we are doing their jobs - dirty jobs, they don't want to do....It isn't exactly right that we took over. I mean when they (Indians) took the cinema, they didn't take it by force. People wanted to sell it, so they bought it and the shops. They (English) themselves moved out of Southall. They weren't forced to."

> "We are not taking jobs away, they are leaving them. We don't say, 'Get out of here, we're going to come on.'. If we all moved out, I don't think it would work out in England; mainly foreigners do all the work."

> "It's not true. The jobs are there in the first place. The whites could get them as well. Indians work harder. We didn't take over Southall. The whites left. The whites left when the Indians came. They could have stayed."

It would seem that for both the English and the Asian respondents, Southall is not merely a geographically bounded area but a social space. It is a territory with which both ethnic groups identify and to which both feel they have a legitimate claim.

Summary and discussion

The information discussed in this chapter can be seen to illustrate two main points. Firstly, that the process of differentiation and polarisation noted by Lacey (1970) in a grammar school and Nash (1973) in a primary school would seem to have some parallels in newly formed comprehensives; and, secondly, that the schools tend to mediate the social

divisions in society.

With reference to the first point, it was found, for instance, that the pupils in the study were aware of being ranked and labelled by the teachers. Their perception of this process of being compared and contrasted by teachers may have in part been responsible for the emergence among them of attitudes towards school on the basis of which they were categorized as being either 'pro' or 'anti' school. There was evidence that having been stigmatised themselves, the pupils in turn applied a similar process of labelling to the teachers and behaved towards them accordingly. Thus if a teacher was seen as 'picking on' certain pupils, the pupils would retaliate by adopting at least one of the following courses of action: 'bunking' that particular lesson; being disruptive; not cooperating; becoming psychologically withdrawn, sitting quietly but with resentment written all over the face; or appearing to be attentive but in fact not paying attention to the lesson. Not surprisingly, pupils who exhibited a positive orientation towards school and education did not report being negatively evaluated by teachers. They indicated that they found learning valuable (both intrinsically and for the rewards it bestows in the form of qualifications and social prestige), were generally in favour of school uniforms, considered examinations to be very important, etc. In other words, they tended to conform to the values of the school.

There was evidence that the 'pro' and 'anti' pupils differentiated among themselves. The extent to which this perceived difference was translated into friendship groups or other inter-personal associations was, however, difficult to establish because the time spent in each school was relatively short. That at least some degree of polarisation must occur is illustrated by comments of the type quoted on page 301 which referred to a 'dividing line' between the 'teacher's pets' and others. It is also reasonable to assume that in an ethnically mixed school, polarisation across

ethnic lines might tend to render intra-ethnic differentiation comparatively less significant. This proposition would seem to be supported by the adolescents' comments concerning fights between 'white' and 'coloured' pupils. They reported that a perfectly innocuous fight between persons from different ethnic groups would very quickly acquire 'racial' overtones as the on-looking pupils took sides with their own ethnic group person. Such polarisation was also reflected in the seating arrangements in class, as well as in the social groups in which the pupils tended to gather during lunch breaks. In these instances, multi-ethnicity tended to be conspicuous by its absence.

Ethnic antipathy was most clearly illustrated by the pupils' responses to questions concerning Southall. It was evident that what impinged on the Asians as colour prejudice and racism was, from the subjective viewpoint of the English, a logical response to a perceived situation of threat - a feeling of being 'taken over'. These seemingly contradictory perspectives need to be examined in context. The explanation would, at least in part, seem to lie in the changing economic conditions in Southall. As noted in chapter 3, Southall has traditionally been a working class area. Its population has had to face recurring periods of economic decline. During the 1930s, for instance, it was hard hit by the depression; work was poorly paid and difficult to obtain. The situation did not ease up markedly until after World War II. Housing shortage and attendant over-crowding has been a long-standing feature of the area.

As is now well-known, the expanding economy of the fifties attracted immigrant labour. This early period was characterized by very little competition in the employment sector between the immigrant and the indigenous populations. Due to the easy availability of jobs, many English families, especially the younger ones moved out of Southall to take up better-paid jobs elsewhere, leaving behind a pool of less mobile labour

force, as for example, the elderly and the less skilled. The relative absence of direct competition between the two ethnic groups during this period may have in part accounted for the comparatively lower level of ethnic tension at that time. Since then, however, there has been a faster decline in the number of jobs available locally than the economically active population, contributing to higher rates of unemployment. This trend is accompanied by an increase in the unskilled work force and a sharp decline in the numbers of skilled workers living in the area. Simultaneously, the increase in population has exerted further pressure on the limited housing stock, resulting in serious overcrowding. The various ethnic groups are now competing for scarce resources. In addition, there is a general lack of leisure facilities, a fact which makes the presence of cinemas showing Asian films rancour in the minds of the English population.

The person on the street is rarely aware of the historical dimension to the presence of black people in Britain. Neither the media, the politicians, nor the education system presents any systematic or consistent evidence to contradict his/her conclusion that the present day socio-economic decline, coinciding as it does with the arrival of the 'immigrants', is not caused by them. The English person, therefore, tends to view the 'immigrant' as an agent of the socio-economic decline. A similar phenomenon has been observed by Miles and Phizacklea in the Willesden area in North-West London:

> "A large proportion of the racist beliefs expressed in the interviews stem from a perceived conflict with black people over the allocation of scarce resources, particularly housing ... Moreover, those white workers who were born and brought up in North-West London have been directly caught up in the most recent stage of the socio-economic decline of the Willesden area. These workers have lived the consequences of this decline and its coincidence with the arrival of New Commonwealth immigrants is viewed as cause and effect." (Miles and Phizacklea, 1979: 117-118)

Similarly, Geoff Pearson (1976) in his analysis of Paki-bashing in a Lancashire cotton town notes that the late fifties and early sixties was

a period when the cotton industry was facing severe difficulties, and a number of mills were closed down. Textile factories which survived the decline of the cotton industry did so mainly due to new production methods which involved long, inconvenient hours of shiftwork. Shift working was unpopular with the locals, but the Asian migrant, who initially arrived with a view to working here for a limited time and then returning home with the savings, was an easy recruit for these jobs. In the eyes of the local workers, the Asian migrant became associated with the troubles of the cotton industry. 'Paki-bashing', according to Pearson was thus a reaction against the state of the socio-economic conditions for which the migrant was held responsible.

> "'Paki bashing' is a primitive form of political and economic struggle. It is an inarticulate and final attempt to act directly on the conditions of the market - whether the exchange value which is contested concerns housing, labour power or girls. When it is understood at an eye-to-eye level - which is where the local worker confronts the migrant - and not from the lofty distance of social policy makers, it can be seen for what it is: a rudimentary form of political action, and a sad and hopeless rage, which finds its specific location and rationality in the changing industrial base of the community." (Pearson, 1976: 69)

In the same way, I would argue that the working class racism has a material base and is closely associated with the modern socio-economic conditions. But I would also wish to add that it derives sustenance from ideology rooted in the colonial encounter, which tended to propagate the belief that the 'white' groups were inherently superior to the 'coloured'. The pupils in the schools may not be fully conversant with the details of the history of the British Empire, but they are likely to be aware that the Empire existed not so long ago. Stereotypes originating from the colonial period may filter into their subconscious through subtle and implicit as well as overt and explicit portrayal in text books, children's comics, films, television, etc. As instanced in chapter 3, racial bias in textbooks used in Southall was not absent even during 1976.

The data presented in this chapter would seem also to point to the role of the school in managing conflict, or to be precise, in preventing it from surfacing. It was evident that frustrations kept bottled up inside the school often found expression in fights outside. Unfortunately many teachers, although by no means all, did not seem to regard this as a cause for undue concern.

The data on the responses of the parents indicated that in certain circumstances social class background becomes a more important determinant of attitudes and response patterns than the ethnic factor. It became apparent that irrespective of their ethnic background the parents who tended to adopt a more critical stance towards the education system were more likely to be middle class or belong to the skilled sections of the working class, whereas those who expressed very little criticism were more likely to be engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs and had low levels of formal education. There was a strong tendency on the part of the latter category of parents to transfer authority to the school and to exhibit a rather deferential attitude towards teachers. This behaviour appeared in part to stem from an awareness on their part that they lacked certain skills with which to manipulate the system in a way that the middle class parents seemingly could. These parents were found to possess a very limited knowledge of the workings of the school system.

The parents in the former category, on the other hand, were more confident about their dealings with the school, and instances were cited of their successfully intervening on behalf of their offspring. Both the English and the Asian parents in this category expressed many similar concerns about the education system, but in addition, the middle class Asian parents also made reference to: the presence of colour prejudice in schools; the racial bias in the textbooks; the limited opportunities available for pupils to learn about the history and cultures of the Sub-

continent, and the negative influence of this fact on the identity formation of Asian adolescents. A number of these parents suggested that the inadequacies of the education system were closely related to the political system which, according to them, was mainly geared towards maintaining an adequate supply of the labour force. It may be that the status inconsistency between their high socio-economic position in Britain and the lower rank associated with their colour served to make them become more aware and knowledgeable about the social reproduction of inequality in Britain and the position of the Asians in this society. It should not be inferred, however, that the middle class Asian parents were necessarily politically very radical. It was merely that they were conscious of the cumulative social disadvantage faced by pupils from the ethnic minorities.

Chapter 9

Summary and Conclusions

Introduction

This piece of research has been concerned with the social perceptions of Asian and English adolescents and their parents. More specifically, it has involved a comparative examination of the adolescents' evaluation of specified entities in their social world, as well as their parents' and their own perceptions of marriage, family and schoo-related issues. In this way, it has attempted to study aspects of inter-generational continuity and change on the one hand; and ethnic perceptions, ethnic differences, and the implications of the two for ethnic relations on the other.

The design of the study was such as to permit an ethnic comparison both within and between age-groups. The ethnic comparison was included not only because of the social importance of the ethnic variable in present day Britain, but also in order that, with the aid of such a comparison, the more universal aspects of the relations between Asian youth and the parental generation might be distinguished from those which might be consequent upon migration. The Asian youth sample comprised two categories of young Asians: the 'second generation' and the 'teenage migrants'. A comparison between these two was expected to highlight those features of change in the perspectives of Asian youth which might have a more direct correlation with their length of residence in Britain.

In terms of its emphasis, the study has focused primarily upon Asians, and in particular upon Asian youth.

The task of studying social change among Asians is not an easy one. It has already been noted that this section of the population in Britain is differentiated not only according to variables such as race, class, sex, position within educational and occupational structures and so on, which

constitutes its social base in Britain, but also in terms of caste, religion, language, regional and rural/urban background - that is, factors which locate its position in the country of origin. Cutting laterally across these is the age variable. Responses of Asians to their life chances in Britain are in large part dependent upon these two major aspects of their social base and its subjective appraisal by them. As the status hierarchy within these two facets is not entirely coterminus, youth as well as the parental generation engage in selectively negotiating their past histories with currently evolving ones. The social reality is experienced from the vantage point of an age-group and a generation, but it is crucially mediated by the other factors.

This chapter has three aims. Firstly, it attempts to bring together the findings presented in the preceding chapters with a view to highlight the more outstanding features of the continuities and discontinuities in the belief systems of the age/ethnic categories under consideration. Secondly, it considers the implication of the results of the present study for the link between home and school, and finally it tries to examine the ethnic dimension of the Asian adolescent identity. Throughout an attempt will be made to locate the findings in the framework outlined in Chapter 1.

9.1 Continuity and Change

9.1.1 Intra-generational Comparison Between Asian and English Adolescents Made on the Basis of the Factor Analysis.

In this section the emphasis is on the degree of similarity and difference as reflected in (i) the factor structure, (ii) the factor scores obtained.

9.1.1.1 The Factor Structure

The results of the semantic differential analysis presented in Chapter 5

showed that a four-factor structure was common to all ethnic/sex categories in which the respondents could be grouped. Further, each separate factor analysis produced three factors which were comparable in terms of content across the above-mentioned categories of respondents. These factors appeared to illustrate three general dimensions which were subsequently labelled 'Familial responsibility', 'Individualism and independence' and 'Cosmopolitanism'. On the basis of these results it can be suggested that all adolescents in the study, irrespective of their sex or ethnic background, utilized three very similar dimensions in evaluating the entities presented to them.

However, the factor structures were not identical in content and three major ethnic differences were identified. First, it became evident that the 'Familial responsibility' factor obtained from the data provided by the Asian sample included attributes concerning the 'care of elderly parents', 'marital fidelity', 'the extent to which parents trust/distrust their children', and 'religiosity' which were absent from the comparable factor extracted from the English sample. In the case of the English, the first two constructs constituted a separate factor (Factor IV). This finding was explained in terms of the differences in the Asian and English family systems. Secondly, it was found that Factor IV extracted from the data obtained from the Asian sample seemed to illustrate an overall dimension of 'Strict/not strict'. It was suggested that this might in part be due to the fact that Asian adolescents were likely to be permitted relatively less freedom by their families than the English boys and girls, and as such the attribute 'Strict/not strict' might acquire comparatively greater saliency in their minds. Thirdly, a closer examination of the contents of the 'Cosmopolitanism' and 'Individualism and independence'

factors revealed that while the Asians seemed to associate the construct 'Like new ways/old fashioned in outlook' with the former, the English adolescents appeared to construe 'Modernity of outlook' as a facet of the latter. This is an interesting difference in that the Asians seemed to associate 'Modernity' with a set of constructs which implied a shift away from the traditional Asian norms ('Mix with others' 'Are in favour of mixed marriages' 'Do not worry too much about what others may think' 'Not religious' etc.) whereas for the English respondents a modern outlook appeared to have connotations of 'Independence and individuality'. Again, this finding can be understood in terms of the differences in the cultures of the two ethnic groups.

Factors computed separately for the Sub-continental and African-Asians suggested that while the factors illustrating the general dimensions of 'Familial responsibility' and 'Cosmopolitanism' were almost identical, those reflecting 'Individualism and independence' were structured fairly differently and the fourth factor in each case was unique to the specific group of Asians under consideration. On the basis of the content of these factors, the difference between the two categories of Asians was explained in relation to the comparatively middle class and urban background of the African-Asians.

A comparison between the factor structures of Asian boys and girls revealed that three out of the four factors were very similar in content, but the fourth factors were different in each case. It was found that the fourth factor obtained from the data provided by the boys centred primarily on the construct, 'Strict/not strict'. The fourth factor obtained from the girls' data, on the other hand, was associated mainly with the attributes 'Would let their children make their own decisions/

would interfere in their children's decisions' and 'Think husbands and wives should treat one another as equals/think wives should obey their husbands'. This comparatively greater preoccupation with equality in personal relationships on the part of Asian girls was examined in relation to the sex roles in Asian cultures.

Similarly, it was found that three out of the four factors computed separately for English boys and girls were remarkably similar, but the fourth factors obtained were different. In the case of the girls, this fourth factor was concerned mainly with the 'care of elderly parents', whereas that obtained from the boys' data tended to focus primarily on the construct 'Get on well with their parents/do not get on well with their parents'. It was suggested that this apparent sex difference may have arisen due to the greater social pressures on English females as compared with males to look after the elderly parents.

The findings summarized above would seem to demonstrate two points: firstly, that the condition of being adolescents in the same historical period and growing up in the same geographical area is likely to have exposed these respondents to certain common influences which would seem to have had an important enough bearing on their thinking processes so as to generate a largely similar factor structure in the case of the two ethnic groups; secondly, that variables outside the age system, (and in this case they included sex, ethnic/cultural background, and the country of origin prior to migration even when the respondents were all from the same ethnic group) played an important role in structuring the semantic space within which the entities presented to the respondents for evaluation, were construed.

9.1.1.2 The Factor Scores

The analysis presented in Chapter 6 was concerned with the way in which particular entities were evaluated by the Asian and English adolescents along dimensions identified by the factor analysis of the data. Their perceptions of the entities were deduced from the medians of the factor scores computed for each entity on each factor over the various populations. Although in that chapter factor scores were reported (a) on factors obtained from the total sample and (b) from the Asian and English sectors of the total sample, it was evident that direct ethnic comparison was feasible only in (a). This latter comparison highlighted some striking ethnic/sex differences which are summarised below. It will be remembered that the factors identified by this analysis were labelled 'Familial responsibility' 'Individualism and independence' 'Cosmopolitanism' and 'Social conformism'.

9.1.1.2.1 Self-image of Asian and English Adolescents on Factors Extracted from the Data Provided by the Total Sample

It became evident that the 'ideal self' of both ethnic groups was associated with high factor scores on the 'Familial responsibility' factor, indicating that the execution of familial duties was considered to be important by the Asians as well as the English. However, the Asians professed commitment appeared to be relatively greater (higher scores), which, of course, is congruent with the more central role played by kinship in Asian as compared with Western cultures.

In the case of both ethnic groups, there was a discrepancy between the 'ideal' and the 'current' self-image. In so far as the 'current' facet of self-image was concerned, girls emerged as being more family-oriented than the boys, but the sex difference was more pronounced among the English sample. A similar sex difference was also evident in the factor scores associated with the respective 'ideal' self-image of English boys

and girls, but not in those obtained from the data provided by the Asian boys and girls. This apparent absence of sex difference in the ideal self-image of the Asian respondents may be due in part to the fact that the Asian cultures demand a rather strong commitment to the family from members of both sexes.

Quite marked ethnic difference in the perception of self was obtained on the 'Individualism and independence' factor. Both the 'ideal' and 'current' facets of the self-image of Asians as compared with the equivalent facets of the English respondents' self-image were found to be associated with very much lower scores. It is as if the traits subsumed under the 'Individuality and independence' factor did not appeal to the Asian adolescents as a particularly desirable set of attributes to possess. Nonetheless, they appeared to regard themselves as being more 'Individualism and independence' oriented than other Asian entities presented to them for evaluation. This would seem to reflect an emerging 'individualism' on the part of Asian adolescents, of the type illustrated by this factor.

Further, sex differences in the perception of self on 'Individualism and independence' factor were quite strongly marked in the case of English but not Asian adolescents; English girls, compared with English boys were found to perceive themselves as being more 'Individualism and independence' orientated.

On the 'Cosmopolitanism' dimension, the self-image of the Asians was found to be associated with a higher level of 'Cosmopolitanism' than that of the English respondents. Further, compared with Asian boys, Asian girls emerged as having a more 'Cosmopolitan' self-image. No noticeable sex difference was evident among the English.

Ethnic differences in the perception of self were also apparent

on the 'Social conformism' factor. While the self-image of the Asians emerged as being mildly 'Conformist' that of their English counterparts was found to be relatively 'non-conformist', albeit only mildly so. A comparison between the 'current' and 'ideal' self-image of the respondents indicated that the English adolescents would ideally prefer to be relatively more 'Conformist' than they actually were.

The data cited above would seem to demonstrate that there was considerable discrepancy in the respective self-images of the Asian and English respondents. If social relations of an intimate kind, as for example, friendships are to a quite considerable extent dependent upon a fairly high level of congruence and similarity between the self-images of the protagonists, the above evidence would predict a rather low incidence of friendship between Asian and English teenagers in Southall. It will be remembered that this indeed was found to be the case.

9.1.1.2.2 The Asian and English Adolescents' Perceptions of Ethnic/Generational Entities on Factors Extracted from the Data Provided by the Total Sample

It was found that on the 'Familial responsibility' factor each ethnic group perceived the other as being least oriented towards fulfilling this particular facet of social responsibility. Further, adolescents from both ethnic groups tended to regard their own parents as being more 'responsible' than generalised parental entities of either ethnic group, namely the entities 'Indian/Pakistani parents' and 'English parents'. In addition, female compared with male entities received higher ratings on this factor from both Asian and English respondents.

Not surprisingly, both English and Asian adolescents gave the highest rating on this factor to their respective mothers. Although the 'fathers'

together with 'facets of self' and an 'ideal marriage partner', also featured among the quartile comprising entities associated with the highest values of scores on this factor, they obtained considerably lower values than the 'mothers'.

In general it was apparent that these adolescents' image of their parents and themselves on this factor was more positive than of any other non-abstract entity presented to them for evaluation.

One of the more striking findings of the present research has been that for both the Asian and English adolescents the 'Individualism and independence' factor would seem to have constituted a major, even a primary, index of cultural and social difference between the two ethnic groups. It is as though entities were selected on the basis of their membership of either the one or the other ethnic group and construed in terms of the opposite poles of this dimension. Thus it emerged that the English entities were found to cluster towards that end of the continuum which signified a higher level of 'Individualism and independence' and the Asians towards the opposite pole.

In so far as perceptions of self were concerned, Asian adolescents appeared to regard themselves as being less 'Individualistic and independence' oriented than the English, but more so than others of their 'own' ethnic group. Further, Asian female entities were perceived by them as being the least 'Individualism and independence' oriented of all.

The English respondents, on the other hand, displayed a high idealistic identification with this dimension; the facet of self 'Myself as I would like to be' was found to be associated with the highest score on this factor. There was, however, a considerable discrepancy between the factor scores obtained for the 'ideal' and the 'current' facets of self-image.

Overall, the English respondents were found to be less 'Individualism and independence' oriented than 'own' ethnic group peers, but more than the English adult entities, and, of course, more so than all Asian entities.

Hence the above-mentioned results would seem to provide empirical support for the proposition that one of the more central features by which the Western cultures may be distinguished from those of the Sub-continental origin is the much greater emphasis placed by the former on individualism.

As regards the 'Cosmopolitanism' factor, it would seem that respondents from both ethnic groups tended to view their own parents and all Asian entities as the least 'Cosmopolitan'; the English respondents included the generalised entity 'English parents' also in this category. Overall, it emerged that adolescents from both ethnic groups seemed to regard themselves as one of the most 'Cosmopolitan' entities. Further, 'Asian boys' and 'Asian girls' compared with 'Asian adults' were regarded by Asian as well as English respondents to be more 'Cosmopolitan'. English entities, however, did not appear to have been differentiated according to the generation category which they represented. Rather, the Asian respondents were found to regard 'English girls' and 'English women' as possessing more 'Cosmopolitan' qualities than 'English men'; the English respondents, on the other hand, seemed to associate a greater degree of 'Cosmopolitanism' with 'English girls', 'English men', and 'English women' than with 'English boys'.

With reference to the 'Social conformism' factor, it became apparent that both the Asian and English respondents tended to regard Asian adult entities as one of the most 'Conformist' of all entities given to them for evaluation. This perhaps is not surprising in view of the fact that

constructs such as 'Strict/not strict', 'Religious/not religious', 'Worry too much about what others may think/do not worry too much about what others may think', and 'Old fashioned in outlook/like the new ways', were associated with the highest loadings on this factor. Further, compared with the adult cohort, the younger generation within each ethnic group was found to be associated with a lower degree of 'conformism' by both Asian and English respondents.

Overall, while the English respondents tended to perceive the Asians as the most 'Conformist' group, the Asians seemed to regard the English as the most 'Non-conformist'. In other words, the adolescent respondents in the study construed the 'Asians' and the 'English' very differently along the 'Social conformism' dimension.

Further, in comparison with their own self-image the Asian respondents seemed to regard the Asian entities as rather unduly 'Conformist' and the English entities as perhaps 'too conformist'. That is, the Asian respondents tended to regard themselves as being less 'Conformist' than members of their own ethnic group, but more so than the English. On the other hand, the English adolescents were found to consider all ethnically specified entities except 'English boys' and 'English girls' to be more 'Conformist' than their 'ideal' self-image. In other words, while 'own' ethnic group peers would seem to have been regarded by them as rather 'too non-conformist' the other entities were perceived as 'too conformist'.

Comparisons between the Asian and English adolescents' perception of self and other entities presented to them for evaluation would seem to highlight the crucial importance of the ethnic factor in shaping these perceptions. Thus, it became apparent that the respective self-images of the two ethnic groups were substantially dissimilar, and that both

Asian and English respondents tended to regard members of their 'own' ethnic groups as being significantly different from those of the 'other' ethnic group. Moreover, they tended to perceive themselves as being more similar to their 'own' ethnic group than to the 'other'. These perceived differences would, no doubt, have had a bearing on the quality of inter-personal interactions between the Asian and English adolescents in the study.

The above-mentioned ethnic differences notwithstanding, there was a degree of similarity in the way the Asian and English respondents tended to differentiate between the two generational categories under consideration. Thus, for instance, the Asian adolescents were found to regard themselves as being more 'Independence and individualistic' oriented than their own parents and other Asian entities; they tended to regard themselves and their Asian peers as more 'Cosmopolitan' than Asian adults; and they appeared to regard the youth within each ethnic group as being comparatively less 'Conformist' than the older generation. Similarly, it was found that the English respondents tended to regard themselves as being more 'Individualistic and independence' oriented, less 'provincial' and less 'conformist', than English adults.

It is worth bearing in mind, however, that these perceived 'generation gaps' were not even across all dimensions. For example, on the 'Familial responsibility' factor, both Asian and English respondents displayed a strong tendency to want to become like their mothers who were seen to be the main pillars of this facet of social responsibility i.e. perceived 'generation gap' between self and mother was non-existent. Yet, on the 'Social conformism' factor, the Asian respondents tended to evaluate their mothers as the most 'Conformist' of all entities; in other words,

substantially more 'conformist' than themselves. Moreover, in the case of both ethnic groups, perceived differences between 'ideal' self and members of the parental generation tended to be considerably narrower when self was compared with 'own' parents rather than when the comparison was with a generalized parental category. The potential for inter-generational conflict within the family may therefore be considerably reduced by this fact, even when the adolescents might continue to regard themselves as a 'different generation'.

At a very general level, it may be suggested that in the case of both ethnic groups the 'generation gaps' were more pronounced on the 'Cosmopolitanism' and 'Social conformism' factors, but that these gaps were relatively wider in ragard to the Asians than the English; in other words, the perceived age-group differences were accentuated in the case of the Asians. This, of course, is not surprising, since the young Asians in Britain are exposed to a considerably wider spectrum of values and experiences compared with the Asian parental generation.

To recapitulate the foregoing, the results obtained from the semantic differential analysis of the data rendered it possible to:-

(a) demonstrate that there was substantial similarity, but also certain interesting differences in the factor structures of the Asian and the English adolescents in the study. The similarity in the factor structures, it was suggested, may be attributed to the effects of a complex of common influences bearing upon the respondents as members of an adolescent age-group growing up in the same locality within a specific historical period. The emergent differences, on the other hand, would seem to point to the

importance of variables outside the age-system, such as the ethnic/sex background of the respondents and the country of origin of the Asians prior to migration, in shaping their cognitive structures and value systems.

(b) study the adolescents' perceptions of self and parents, of adults other than parents, and of peers from both 'own' and 'other' ethnic group.

The results highlighted a considerable discrepancy between the respective self-image of the two ethnic groups. Further, it was clearly evident that both Asian and English respondents tended to view members of their 'own' ethnic group to be significantly different from those of the 'other'. In addition, although perceived 'generation gaps' were identified, perceived ethnic differences would seem to have been more clearly illustrated by the results. It is as if in the ethnically heterogenous context of Southall, ethnic difference was more salient in the minds of pupils completing the questionnaire than differences arising due to other differentiating variables.

In this section, one of the major concerns was to summarise the adolescents' perceptions of specified individuals and categories of people. The next section, on the other hand, deals with the adolescent and his/her parents' views about particular issues. A comparison between these two sets of results will be utilised to identify the degree of actual ethnic differences between the values and perspectives of Asian and English respondents, as distinct from the perceived ones noted above. Further, an intra and also an inter-generational comparison will now be made. It must be pointed out, however, that the remaining chapter will focus primarily on the Asian respondents.

9.1.2 Intra and Inter-generational Comparison Between Adolescents and their Parents Made on the Basis of the Interview Material

Results obtained from an analysis of the interview data were found to further substantiate the trends identified in the preceding section. The cross-ethnic comparison, for example, highlighted considerable similarity but also some differences in the respondents' views on issues concerning marriage and family. Similarly, when the perspectives of the adolescents were compared with those of their parents, the evidence pointed to continuity as well as change across age-groups. It was clear that changes were taking place gradually and at a differential pace among the various sections of the sample.

9.1.2.1 Asian Youth

It emerged that the family continues to play a crucial role in the lives of Asian adolescents. Their beliefs and values appeared to be quite strongly influenced by Asian social norms; the influence was considerable even in the case of those born here.

The above evidence is, perhaps, not so surprising when one considers that it is during the period of primary socialization that the foundations of one's personality, value system, and identity are laid. According to Berger and Luckman (1971) primary socialization proceeds through a concurrent process of internationalisation of roles and attitudes of significant others and identification with them under circumstances which are associated with a high level of affect. These authors differentiate between primary and secondary socialization as follows:

> "While primary socialisation cannot take place without an emotionally charged identification of the child with significant others, most secondary socialisation can dispense with this kind of identification, and proceed effectively with only the amount of mutual identification that enters into any communication between human beings. Put

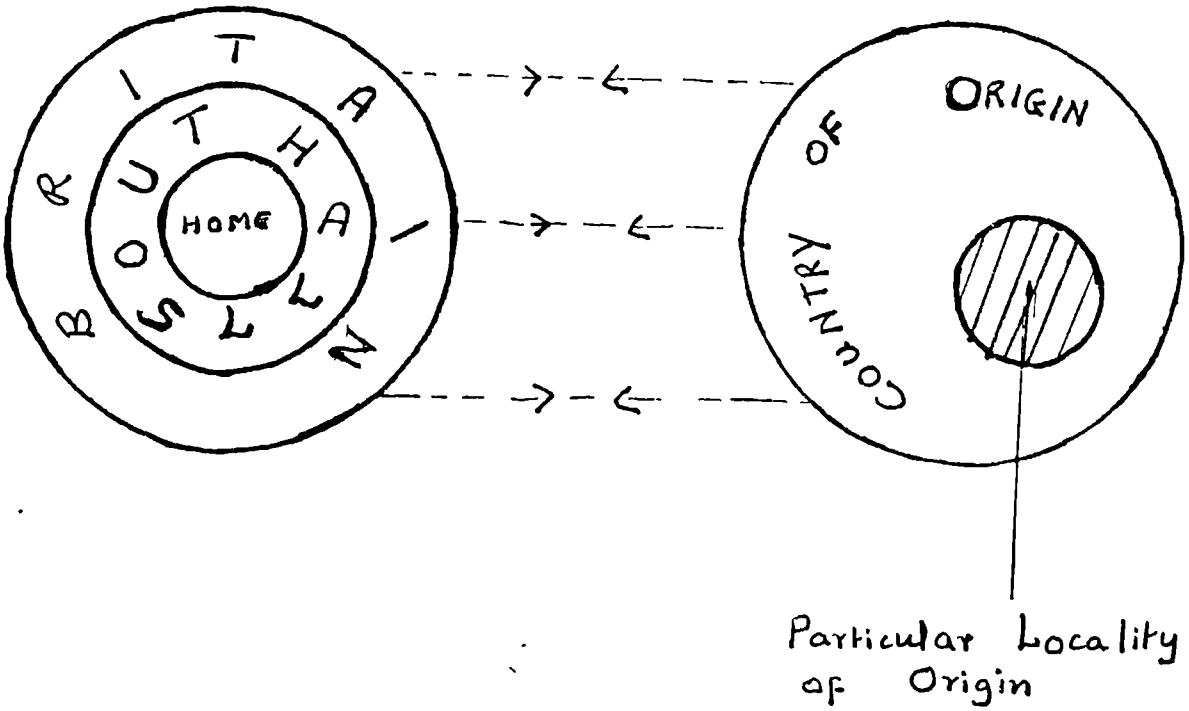
> crudely, it is necessary to love one's mother, but not one's teacher". (Berger & Luckman, 1971; 161)

Primary socialization, they argue, is usually the most important one for an individual. Its importance tends to be even more accentuated in the Asian family context where a child is encouraged to regard his/her self-interest as being coterminus with that of its family. Strong identification with the family is generated and maintained through the kinship based system of mutual rights and obligations and the accompanying bonds of sentiment and affection.

As reported in chapter 7, the influence of the home was evident in the Asian adolescents' attitudes to all the issues concerning marriage and family which were discussed with them. Thus, for instance, a majority of the respondents tended to refrain from courting even when none but a proportion of the 'teenage migrants' disapproved of it in principle, and a majority wished they had the freedom to go out with members of the opposite sex. Similarly, although most of the adolescents interviewed expressed a preference for a system of marriage in which personal choice would play a central role, they seemed to accept without undue concern, the prospect of their own marriages being arranged by the family. This discrepancy between ideology and anticipated practice was explicated in terms of factors such as the influence of primary socialization which fosters early identification with the family "Izzat"; emotional bonds between members of a close-knit family which renders breaking away very difficult; and an awareness on the part of the Asian adolescents that a refusal to comply with the expectations of the family would lead to alienation from the family and other Asian social networks when access

to English networks is limited due to cultural differences on the one hand, and racial prejudice on the other.

Although the influence of the Asian social norms on the emerging belief systems of young Asians was found to be strong, it cannot be concluded, however, that these young Asians were encapsulated in the cultures from which their parents originate. A number of incipient changes were evident which may owe substantially to the influence of the secondary socialization in schools, as well as to the social change occurring in British society as a whole. Overall, the various spheres of influence which bear upon young Asians may be outlined as follows:



Spheres of influence in the British context

Source	Influence transmitted via:
I. Primary socialization	
1. Home	Everyday interaction
2. Kinship and family networks in Southall and in Britain	Social visiting, participation at life-cycle, rituals, religious festivals and so on.
II Secondary socialization	
1. Asian populations in Southall	Everyday life in the area; local community politics.
2. Asian populations in Britain	Ethnic identification; ethnic minority press; Asian programmes on radio and television.
3. Majority society within the Southall context	Schools; Social welfare agencies; hospitals; local authority departments; personal contact with local English residents; local economy and politics.
4. Majority society in the wider context of Britain	As above + national economy, politics and the media.
Spheres of influence connected with the country of origin	
1. Kinship and family networks in the country of origin	Visits to the country of origin. Indirectly through participation in kinship and family networks in Britain.
2. Locality from whence the family originate	As above + Asian films and press.
3. The country of origin in its wider context.	Asian films, Asian press, (especially film magazines), the country and its peoples as depicted in British schools and the media, international politics and so on.

Of course, the impact of these various spheres of influence was not even across all sections of Asian youth. In regard to the influence of British society as stemming from personal contact, for example, it was found that Asian teenagers from professional middle class families were

more likely to include English individuals in their informal social networks. They were also more aware of the differences in the class cultures of Britain (as were their parents) and tended to see a continuity between their own middle class status and that of the British middle class. Another set of young Asians sometimes to be found in ethnically mixed friendship groups, were individuals of mainly working class backgrounds, who were likely to be involved in 'delinquent' activities, such as football violence, 'nicking' or 'trouble making' at school. It must be pointed out, however, lest an impression is given that participation in 'delinquent' activities automatically served to generate the inter-ethnic solidarity, that in general sub-cultures of this type, were likely to be mono-ethnic in composition, and quite frequently were prone to inter-racial fighting. Nevertheless, the members' experiences of attitudes towards extra- familial authority, such as the police, were likely to have a great deal in common.

In so far as a majority of the Asian respondents was concerned, contact with English society occurred mostly in rather formal and often official contexts. Intimate friendships across ethnic boundaries were not very common. Thus, the media, especially television, constituted their main window to the English cultures. Despite such limited contact between the two ethnic groups, the social world of the Asian adolescent did not appear to be completely different from that of his/her English counterpart. There were points of convergence in as much as football and other sports, popular television programmes, modern fashion, popular music and so on featured in both. Of course, the Asian adolescents were also interested in Asian popular music and films, as well as in modern trends in Asian forms of dress as portrayed in Asian films, film magazines and fashion

journals. The Eastern influence on Western fashions in the recent years has also been partly responsible for making Eastern fashions in dress, interior home decorating etc. more popular among the Asians in Southall. To be trendy no longer requires one to abandon Asian themes in fashion. Rather, items of clothing or jewellery acquired from a relative who has recently returned from a visit to India or Pakistan, or a silk scarf bought locally from an Asian shop can be easily matched with "Churidar" type of tapered trousers or a tunic bought from Marks and Spencers or Littlewoods.

In terms of their mode of dress or mannerisms, the 'second generation' respondents were scarcely distinguishable from their English counterparts. This point is perhaps not as trivial as it might seem for subconscious adoption of mannerisms is likely to be associated with internationalisation by the adolescents of modes of thinking and attitudes which are rooted in their experiences of growing up in Britain as opposed to in the Sub-continent or Africa. This fact was often brought home to me while observing the 'second generation' interact with the 'teenage migrants'. Many a time, subtle cues (an understanding of which is normally taken for granted with members of one's own cultural group) given by the 'teenage migrants' would be totally lost on the 'second generation' respondents, indicating perhaps that the 'Asian cultures' of Southall in which the latter category of young people have been brought up are qualitatively different from those prevailing in the country of origin.

Indeed, a general comparison between the responses of the 'second generation' and the 'teenage migrants' to questions about marriage and family was instrumental in pinpointing differences in attitude which

might reasonably be said to have resulted primarily from the impact upon the 'second generation' of Britain-based social influences - that is, influences originating in the changed circumstances facing the Asian in Britain as compared with those obtaining in the country of origin. Some of the differences identified are summarized below. It might be reasonable to assume that they reflect nascent patterns of change.

1. In regard to the issue of courtships it was observed that while none of the 'second generation' respondents disapproved of this social custom and a majority wished they had the freedom to go out with the opposite sex, a majority of the 'teenage migrants' on the other hand, was found to be unequivocal in its rejection, at least in principle, of courtship.

In practice, however, a small number of adolescents from both categories of respondents appeared to have begun courting other Asians. Traditional norms against liaison between different castes or religions did not seem to constitute a barrier in their minds. This may probably be because of the temporary nature of these relationships; the respondents did not expect these relationships to result in marriage. Thus courtship was seen as an end in itself, rather than a prelude to marriage; in this respect their orientation differed considerably from that of their English counterparts.

The 'teenage migrants' from the sample who had involvements with the opposite sex were mainly boys. They met up with Asian girls who were likely to have been brought up in England. There was evidence that in comparison with the 'second generation', their approach was much less influenced by the Western courtship patterns, a fact which sometimes led to misunderstandings between them and the more Westernised Asian girls they befriended. Moreover, it was clear that the 'second generation' boys and girls were able to operate within a dual system of values, and consequently were

much more likely to assess their relationships with the opposite sex as being legitimate within the framework of Western social norms with which they in part identified. The 'teenage migrants' on the other hand, tended to judge these relationships almost exclusively on the basis of traditional Asian norms to which they subscribed. Since according to these norms courtship is not a socially approved system, they were more likely to experience feelings of guilt. The boys in this category tended to resolve this apparent conflict between ideology and their own practice by defining the girls they went out with as a 'less respectable' category of girls.

Clearly the above indicates that ASian young people who had grown up in this country had internalised certain modes of behaviour and social norms of British society which were not indigenous to the rural milieu from which a majority of the 'teenage migrants' had originated.

2. Although they did not reject the arranged marriage system in toto, an overwhelming majority of the 'second generation' adolescents expressed a desire for increased freedom for themselves in the selection of their marriage partners. The 'teenage migrants' on the other hand, tended to display a much more favourable attitude towards this system of marriage. They were considerably more likely to believe that the responsibility for selecting a marriage partner for a young person should reside primarily with the parents. A qualification needs to be added, however, because the responses of the 'teenage migrants' with an urban background prior to migration were similar to those of the 'second generation' even when the former had lived in England for less than two years. A further characteristic of these particular recent arrivals and one which may have had a bearing on their attitude, was that they were of middle class origin. Their relatively liberal attitude may, therefore, owe both to their urban background

as well as social class background. Indeed, as studies of urban India have shown (Dube, 1963; Ross, 1971; Vatuk, 1972) trends such as chaperoned courtship and increased freedom in the selection of a marriage partner are not uncharacteristic of the urban middle and upper classes (barring the 'old' upper class families, who, not unlike their counterparts in the west, tend to have a more traditional outlook on these matters).

The above evidence would seem to indicate that changes in patterns of social interaction and norms among the Asians in Britain do not invariably reflect a process of 'Westernization'. Rather these changes may be a function of a multiplex of influences. The impact of social change occurring in the Sub-continent on young Asians growing up in Southall is considerable. As previously stated, changes taking place in the Sub-continent are communicated to Asian adolescents in Southall by way of Asian films (albeit in a rather skewed form) which constitute the main recreation for a large number of Asian families in Britain, film magazines, local and national publications produced by the Asian press in Britain, recently arrived peers or kin from the urban centres of the country of origin, personal visits to the Sub-continent, and so on. In some respects this complex of influences may be more penetrating in effect because it tends to be articulated in an idiom which is familiar to the young person through primary rather than secondary socialization.

3. The 'second generation' it emerged, were almost unanimously in favour of neolocal residence after marriage. In contrast, the 'teenage migrants' expressed preference for a pattern of joint residence among members of the extended family. The 'second generation' adolescents were quite vehement in stressing that they would prefer the privacy of their own homes. This emphasis on privacy and their use of terms such as 'mine' rather than

'ours' in referring to their current as well as anticipated possessions would seem to signify a shift away from the conceptualisation of self as a particularised representation of the 'collective ego' of that ontological entity, the family. This, I believe, is an important change, which was also reflected in the Asian adolescents' self-image on the 'Individualism and independence' factor identified by the factor analysis of the questionnaire data.

4. Change was apparent also in the 'second generation' adolescents' construal of dowry as 'presents' given by the parents to the girl and the groom. This category of respondents did not appear to be fully cognizant of the role of the extended kin in this system of social exchange. The 'teenage migrants' on the other hand, were able to appreciate the part dowry plays in reinforcing the system of reciprocal rights and obligations between families.

5. A difference between the 'second generation' and the 'teenage migrants' was reflected also in their attitudes to child-care and housework, the latter category of respondents adhering much more to the view that these tasks are primarily the responsibility of the woman. The two categories of respondents differed also in that the responses obtained from the former were characterised by a significant sex difference; at least half of the 'second generation' girls reported that they would expect their husbands to share domestic responsibilities on an equal basis. This would seem to suggest that sex roles are more likely to come under pressure among the 'second-generation' of Asians than among those who might have come to Britain when they were in their teens.

6. Responses produced by questions on the care of the elderly parents showed that both categories of Asian respondents are likely to look

after their parents when the latter grow old or infirm. However, the marked preference shown by the 'second generation' towards the setting up of separate homes from parents upon marriage would appear to suggest that in time the responsibility for the parents might come to be regarded as secondary to that felt towards the family of procreation; in the traditional set up these two spheres of responsibility are equally binding. In an embryonic form this process of fragmentation of familial responsibility into two parts, one more obligatory and binding than the other, was already in evidence amongst a small number of cases.

7. In regard to the question of mixed marriage, although a majority of the adolescents interviewed did not themselves wish to contract marriage with a member of a normally exogamous group, they were not unsympathetic towards others of their ethnic group who might wish to do so. If this professed accepting attitude towards non-conformist behaviour on the part of fellow Asians is carried over and practised by these adolescents in adulthood, it will represent a marked shift away from the attitudes of the parental generation which tends to expect fairly stringent compliance to Asian social norms, not only from themselves but also from fellow compatriots. The result may be a weakening of the traditional forms of social control.

8. The lesser degree of importance attached to caste by the 'second generation' might also constitute another indicator of social change. On a day-to-day basis caste is not the principal dynamic determining patterns of social organisation among Asians in Southall. As a consequence Asian teenagers growing up in the area have little knowledge or direct experience of the status hierarchies accompanying caste, religious, or class divisions in the Sub-continent. Most remain oblivious to the

significance attached to these by their parents until these social boundaries become concretised in their own lives during late adolescence, when the family sets in train the search for a suitable spouse for them. The institution of religious and caste endogamy then becomes highly salient, although even then the Asian adolescent is likely to continue conceptualizing the problematic more in terms of expected allegiance to the family than in terms of caste endogamy per se.

In general, caste hierarchy tended to be conceptualized by the respondents in terms of rather vague notions of 'high' and 'low'. Their perceptions seemed to lack the emotional and ideological involvement which tends to characterise those of their elders. Though few respondents rejected these status systems completely, a few were beginning to question their validity.

On the basis of my observations in the area, it may be suggested that the future generations of Asians are likely to attach lesser importance to caste than is the case at the present time. This is not to suggest, however, that caste will disappear. Indeed, as I have already pointed out (see chapter 3) an increasing number of caste-based organisations have emerged in Southall in recent years. Rather, the point I wish to make is that caste is likely to loose its potency as an index of social rank. Instead, it is likely to become a nucleus around which religious and social activities will be organised - that is it may, in part, take on the functions of a social club, although in the process it might prolong its importance as a major criteria for defining boundaries of endogamy and exogamy.

There are points of similarity between the situation in Southall and the type of 'casteism' found in the urban parts of the Sub-continent. For instance, Robert Hardgrave in his analysis of a community in South India notes:

"With occupational differentiation, with the impossibility of main-

> taining patterns of avoidance in social contact, the urban situation clearly undermines traditional caste-relationships. At the same time, 'casteism' is very much a part of urban life in India. Caste in the urban situation, like ethnicity in America or tribalism in the African city may be viewed as a categorical relationship, operating to simplify or codify behaviour in otherwise 'unstructured situations'. (Hardgrave in Fox (ed.), 1970; 47).

This type of similarity notwithstanding, it is important, however, to bear in mind that the urban situation in the Sub-continent is significantly different from the situation in Britain. In India the caste-system is still supported by the weight of tradition, whereas in Britain caste-ideology is in direct conflict with the egalitarian principles of British social democracy. The traditional caste relations may, therefore, be subjected to greater pressure in this country.

The results discussed in section 9.1.2.1 would seem to suggest that Asian adolescents who have grown up in Britain operate from rather different 'cognitive maps' than do their recently arrived Asian peers. Overall, the data suggest continuity as well as change in the emerging belief systems of British-Asian boys and girls. While the influence of the value systems derived from the country of origin remains significant there is at the same time evidence of incipient trends which suggest the emergence of new patterns of social interaction and changing norms. For instance, nascent courtship patterns were identifiable and the teenagers' views on arranged marriages, extended/nuclear families etc. seemed to reflect an emerging individuation of the type generally associated with Western industrial societies. This emerging individuation can, I believe, be legitimately termed as 'generational change' (see chapter 1).

9.1.2.2 Asian Parents

The interviews with the parents indicated that there was considerable

variation in the attitudes of parents towards issues concerned with marriage and family. The views expressed ranged from the traditional to the radical. This was particularly true of their attitudes towards courtship, arranged-marriage system and mixed marriage. As would be expected, parents holding traditional views were found to be strongly committed to the practice of traditional rules governing marriage. Therefore, they were opposed both to courtship and mixed marriage of any type. At the opposite end of the scale were parents who regarded marriage primarily as a matter of personal choice, and as such they were not opposed either to courtship or mixed marriage. However, a larger proportion of the parents could be classified between these two extremes. On balance, they favoured the arranged marriage system, but tended to regard the selection process as a joint venture between parents and children and one in which children should have substantial freedom of choice with the parents guiding the offspring rather than controlling them.

Parents with radical views, it emerged, were all middle class. However, not all middle class parents held such views. In other words, while middle class background appeared to have an important bearing on the development of liberal attitudes, it did not constitute a sufficient condition for their emergence. Other factors such as parents' age, length of residence in Britain, rural/urban background prior to migration, and family and personal histories were also instrumental in shaping these attitudes. As a general rule, liberal attitudes were most likely to emerge when the parents were relatively young, of middle class background, had lived in England for a substantial period of time, had an urban background prior to migration, and possessed family and/or personal history of a type which would predispose them towards more modern social values.

Differences in attitudes did not appear to be related in any significant way to the country of origin prior to migration. Parents with traditional views were as likely to have come from Africa as from the Sub-continent. Yet it is not uncommon to find that parents from Africa are posited as the more liberal category. The present study suggests that categorical distinctions between the African-Asians and the Sub-continentals are not strictly tenable; they may be valid only in so far as families from Africa are more likely to have urban/middle class backgrounds whereas the majority of the Sub-continentals in Britain have rural backgrounds.

A comparison between the attitudes of the parents and the adolescents towards courtship, arranged marriages and mixed marriages showed that the perceptions of the adolescents who were 'teenage migrants' were similar to those of the traditional parents. The views of the 'second generation', on the other hand, seemed to approximate the attitudes held by 'liberal', i.e. the in-between category of parents. Thus, attitudinal discrepancy between adolescents and their parents was most marked when a 'second generation' child was found to have traditional parents. Even in these cases, however, since most of the boys and girls did not seem opposed to the prospect of their own marriages being arranged, this latent conflict might not be brought out into the open. Reasons for this were discussed in chapter 7. It was found that only in a very small number of cases could open conflict be predicted. This evidence would seem to illustrate the point made in chapter 1 that differences among generations may not invariably lead to overt familial conflict.

On the issues of divorce and dowry little disagreement between the two age-groups was evident. Responses to questions about housework and child-care highlighted a significant sex difference. Both mothers and their daughters were found to express dissatisfaction with the fact that

almost all of the burden of housework and child-care fell upon their shoulders. However, the way in which the mothers and about half of the girls talked about this issue would seem to suggest that they were not intentionally challenging the traditional sex roles. Indeed many appeared to feel that it was only right that the position of the male in the family was dominant. They couched their feelings about the unequal division of labour in the home more in terms of its unfairness than injustice. The other half of the girls, on the other hand, were quite consciously raising questions about their subordinate position as women. This intra-female difference notwithstanding, it was apparent that there was a sense of awareness among these respondents about their shared experience and common position as women. Generational differences were, therefore, mediated by gender, in this case.

When the parents were queried about the relative merits or otherwise of the extended as compared to the nuclear family system, they responded by expressing a clear preference for the former. In this respect they echoed the sentiments of the 'teenage migrants' but differed from the 'second generation' whose attitudes reflected a marked preference for the nuclear family type.

In regard to the care of the elderly, the parents were found to consider it the duty of the children, especially the sons, to look after aged parents. There was a difference, however, between the older parents who tended to conceptualize this 'duty' or 'farz' in more traditional terms ('seva' or 'khidmat' i.e. selfless service expected from the younger generation and which has connotations of 'sacred duty') and the younger parents who were more likely to merely express the hope that their children would look after them ('dekh Bhal'). The latter category of parents were more pragmatic in that they were aware that in Britain their authority over grown up children would be very limited, and as a consequence

they could not demand to be looked after by their offspring. Since a majority of the adolescent sample was against the idea of placing parents in a home for the elderly, it might be expected that the larger proportion of the Asian parents in the sample would be looked after by their children. Yet, because the 'second generation' were found to be quite strongly influenced by the nuclear as compared with the extended family model, it may be predicted that in time patterns of residence and social interaction between elderly parents and their children will probably begin to approximate those which obtain among the majority population in Britain.

In so far as the issue of communication with parents was concerned, it will be remembered that there was considerable variation in the quality of communication reported by the Asian adolescents - it ranged from good to poor. It is interesting too that a majority of adolescents claiming poor communication with parents made their remarks less in anger than in sadness. They seemed to be aware that in large part the communication gap stemmed from a lack of knowledge on the part of the parents about various aspects of British society such that certain features of their children's life outside the home were beyond their own range of experience. On the whole, the adolescents (and this applied to English adolescents as well) did not appear to be unduly concerned about these communication gaps - i.e. from their point of view, the gaps by themselves did not constitute a problem. If the parents did not or could not appreciate their teenage child's perspective on an issue, many young people said that they were inclined to drop the subject and not pursue it any further. This response perhaps is not so surprising if one considers that preoccupation with the degree and quality of communication between parents and children is more a characteristic of the middle classes. The bulk of the population, it would seem, is inclined to rely on this relationship more for emotional

security and practical help rather than for communication in the sense of 'really being understood'.

Thus, poor communication by itself was rarely a source of overt conflict. Indeed reported incidence of serious conflict with parents was low among both ethnic groups. Only in a small number of cases were relationships found to be poor, and in these conflict appeared to be due to the combined effect of a number of factors rather than as a consequence of a single overriding factor. Furthermore, in only a few of the cases in which Asian respondents were involved could conflict properly be labelled as 'culture conflict' (see case studies, chapter 7); yet there would seem to be a tendency on the part of professionals working with Asians to regard 'culture conflict' to be the primary source of difficulties in Asian families (Anwar, 1976). Indeed the concept of 'culture conflict' would seem all too often to be used as a diagnostic label. The results of this study do not offer credence to the 'culture conflict' paradigm as having more than a limited explanatory value. It is not intended to suggest that cultural differences have no bearing on the difficulties which may arise between Asian adolescents and their parents, but rather that the use of 'culture conflict' as a 'diagnostic label' may not be tenable.

In actual cases where the Asian adolescents might decide to challenge the authority of the parents, individual defiance of this nature would seem to have a greater chance of success in Britain than in the Sub-continent. I was informed of a high caste Hindu whose University educated daughter wished to marry a fellow student from the 'untouchable' caste. Initially the father resisted strongly but the daughter insisted that she would marry the young man even if the parent withheld consent. Traditional sanctions such as ex-communication from the caste would have been ineffective

due to the absence of supportive economic and social structures in Britain. Not wishing to lose contact with his daughter, the father consulted prominent members of the Asian community who advised him to give consent which he subsequently did. This case was cited to me by a parent to illustrate the powerlessness of Asian parents in Britain when faced with a challenge from their offspring. It is worth noting in this connection that parents' perception of this threat tends to influence their strategies in dealing with their teenage children. While some parents remain rigid in their value systems, and appeal to their authority as a parent to dissuade adolescents from engaging in particular forms of behaviour, others use persuasion and appeal to shared values, a few may attempt to reach a compromise, and yet others may positively support their children even when it may invite censure from the Asian community in Britain and kin in the country of origin. The continuing socialization of adults is sometimes not sufficiently taken into account. There was little evidence in this study to suggest that a majority of the adult generation was inflexible or unchanging; only a small number of parents, mainly those older in age, appeared as if they might be fairly rigid in their stance over certain issues.

A relatively low incidence of serious conflict identified in this study ought not, however, be taken to imply that the relations between the age-groups were always harmonious. Differences of opinion and associated arguments were reported by both the Asian and the English respondents. In the main, these centred around issues such as pocket money, homecoming times in the evening (not applicable to Asian girls), housework, homework and friends. Since such arguments between adolescents and parents were common to both ethnic groups, it may be assumed that they constitute 'age-

group conflict' - a more universal feature in modern times of relations between youth and adults during the period when the former are at the adolescent stage of development - rather than 'generational conflict' involving a fundamental questioning of the social values of one generation by another such that 'the bases of the difference and conflict are carried forward by a youth group into their occupancy of adult status' (Marsland, 1975; 96).

Nor should this low level of conflict be seen to imply a homogeneity of values between age-groups. If the results of the study are examined at the 'lineage level' of analysis, i.e. the unit of analysis is the vertical relationship involving members of different age-groups linked by blood ties or other socializing relationship, it is found that the Asian as well as English adolescents perceived themselves as having certain different life-orientations from the adults of their 'own' ethnic group. For example, the adolescents appeared to regard themselves as more 'Individualism and independence oriented', more 'Cosmopolitan' and less 'Conformist' than the parental age-group. These perceived 'generation gaps' were, however, narrower when the adolescents were comparing themselves with their own parents rather than with the generalized parental entity 'Indian/ Pakistani parents' or 'English parents'.

Interview data showed that discontinuity was greatest at the level of professed belief rather than anticipated practice, and was most pronounced in the case of the comparative perspectives of the 'second generation' adolescents and the 'traditional parents'. There was a high level of similarity between the views of the 'second generation' and the more liberally oriented parents, and between those of the 'teenage

migrants' and the 'traditional parents'. In general, at the 'lineage level' of analysis, continuity between adolescents and their parents (and this applied equally to the English respondents) was substantial.

However, when the attention is shifted to the 'cohort level' of analysis where the interest is focussed on the horizontal relationship between cohorts, it becomes apparent that despite considerable continuity in the area of core values between young Asians and their parents, the youth in Southall are significantly different from the parental generation, both in terms of their thinking (i.e. the way in which they understand and interpret traditional Asian social norms as well as the social environment in which they are growing up) and responding to their experiences in Britain. This point was most poignantly illustrated during the demonstrations in 1976 staged by Asian youth in Southall as a protest against the murder of Gurdip Singh Chaggar. The limitation of analysis offered in the press and other media about these incidents highlighted the need to make formal conceptual distinctions between the two levels of analysis used above. There was a tendency for instance, on the part of the media to emphasise the 'lineage level' of analysis in portraying the youth as a generation radically different from their parents. Such interpretation may have been due in part to the youth's generous use of age-based terminology in levelling criticism at the Asian leaders for their failure to employ effective ('militan in their parlance) strategies to combat racialism. The situation, however, was far more complex. First, the leaders, it would seem, were subjected to criticism mainly in their role as leaders rather than as adults - that is, leadership rather than adult norms per se were being contested. Second, the youth's discontent, my subsequent interviews suggest, were in large part directed, not at their parents, but at the racial structures perceived to operate through aspects of the economic, ideological and

political arm of the society. In other words, the discontent was directed against factors outside the age-system. A number of parents in fact supported their children's attempt to give expression to grievances shared by the Asian population as a whole. Indeed, at the level of broad generalisation, as already noted, the core values of Asian adolescents can be said to be quite similar, though by no means identical, to that of their parents. For instance, the adolescents' commitment to uphold family honour (izzat) would seem to differ from that of their parents more in degree rather than in kind. However, when the focus of analysis is shifted to the 'cohort level' a 'generational' change is certainly evident. The strategies adopted by the young to express dissent can be seen to reflect such a change, in that the young rejected the attitude of 'keeping a low profile' which the older generation had maintained. While the majority of the adolescents would not wish to instigate racial confrontation, very few are prepared to 'take it lying down'. As one informant put it, "We have gone through the Paki-bashing period, gang fights outside school, tension inside school, and now its the National Front. How long can you take it?" Also, although the girls were conspicuous by their absence in these demonstrations, their views were largely similar to the boys in this instance.

Thus it may be concluded that there is a creative tension at work among Asian age-groups and generations. Changes are in progress; mostly unobtrusively but occasionally, when dramatic events take place, are made more conspicuously manifest.

9.2 Perceptions of School: Home-School Link

The views expressed by the pupils on school-related issues revealed that, broadly speaking, they could be classified as being either 'pro-

school' or 'anti-chool'. In this respect, the present study would seem to generally support some of the earlier research reviewed by Morrison and McIntyre (1971) which suggests that many British schools are characterised by two types of pupil sub-cultures, one largely identified with achievement-oriented values of the school and the other which may represent the antitheses of these values. However, when the responses and behaviour of the pupils is considered in greater detail, the results appear to be in line with the argument presented by Rutter et al (1979) that:

> "... the process need not necessarily involve a sub-culture which is actually anti-school or pro-delinquency, but rather there may be the formation of peer groups within the school which are indifferent to academic success - indifferent because they see no chance of their achieving success and hence they need to set their goals in other directions" (Rutter, Malighan, Mortimore, Ouston, 1979; 201).

The English respondents were found to be represented in almost equal proportions in each of these two categories. A very large majority of the Asians, on the other hand, appeared to be favourably disposed towards school. In so far as attitudes to education are in part influenced by the home environment, this apparent ethnic difference may reflect the much greater emphasis placed on educational attainment by the first generation of immigrant parents. Education is likely to be regarded by these parents as a vehicle for social mobility. However, a cautionary note must be sounded in this regard. My evaluation of the current situation is that in view of the increasing unemployment rate among Asian adolescents, many Asian parents are becoming progressively disillusioned with educational success as a reliable predictor of social mobility. A continuing high level of encouragement from them may not, therefore, be indefinitely forthcoming.

The above mentioned ethnic difference notwithstanding, it became

apparent that irrespective of the ethnic background of the respondents, the perspectives of those within the same category were remarkably similar.

As would be expected, the 'pro-school' pupils were found to possess a predominantly positive attitude towards school. They were inclined to be academically oriented with a substantial proportion among them hoping to enter higher education. Education seemed to be valued most highly as an instrument for gaining professional status. To a slightly lesser extent, it appeared to be appreciated for its own sake. The role of education in fostering independence of mind and in generating confidence was also mentioned as being important. The attitudes of these pupils may, therefore, be characterised as being both 'instrumental' and 'expressive'.

In the main, these pupils were found to be more unequivocally in favour of examinations and school uniform. Unlike their 'anti-school' counterparts, they did not suggest that the teachers 'picked on them', an indication, perhaps, that they were well regarded by teachers. This, of course, is not surprising since the foregoing would seem to suggest that these pupils would be likely to work hard and behave well, and in so doing provide support for the achievement oriented values of the school.

As might be expected, behaviour of the type associated with the concept of 'a good pupil' was not characteristic of the respondents in the 'anti-school' category. Indeed, they reported that they frequently behaved badly in class, although primarily in lessons taught by teachers they did not get on well with. They felt that these teachers 'picked on them' and it was in retaliation that they behaved badly. References

to being stigmatised as 'trouble makers' and the difficulty of getting rid of these labels once they had been acquired, were often made. A category of pupils so labelled were in time inclined to develop a group identity based primarily on a rejection of the core values of the school.

The idea of wearing school uniform appeared to be anathema to the 'anti-school' pupils mainly because the uniform was perceived as a fundamental symbol of capitulation to the values of the school and the authority of the teachers. In the main, they were not academically oriented but this ought not to be taken to indicate that they were invariably less 'intelligent' than their 'pro-school' counterparts. Indeed several among them seemed to be very able persons. As might be expected, they were more likely to be against the examination system, and the rate of truancy among them was comparatively high.

In the class-room, this group of pupils was likely to form an ad-hoc alliance which would often transcend ethnic boundaries. The development of this type of cross-ethnic solidarity might in part be attributed to the fact of these pupils' equivalent status in school as 'difficult pupils'. These alliances were, however, rarely carried over into friendship groups outside the school. Rather, some of the same pupils reported that on several occasions they had been involved in racial fights outside school. It would seem that the schools are able to contain and temporarily diffuse rather than deal with conflict arising from the social divisions in society.

Interestingly, although in their day-to-day behaviour the 'anti-school' pupils were more likely to defy rather than condone school discipline, they did not differ from their 'pro-school' counterparts in recognising the necessity of having a degree of discipline in school.

They appeared to be aware of the processes whereby unequal educational benefits accrue to different categories of pupils, and knew that their own relatively low position within the academic hierarchy of school would prevent them from gaining any such benefits. It is as if this knowledge made them consciously reject school discipline, even when they could appreciate its validity for other pupils. In other words, they knew the 'rules of the game' but since abiding by them was unlikely to improve their future prospects, they found it in their interest to reject them, especially since in so doing they were able to realise their sense of worth from other members of the 'anti-school' group.

In regard to the parents, it became apparent that, irrespective of their ethnic background, they too could be classified into two broad categories, namely a category comprising those who were considerably dissatisfied with the education system, and another consisting of parents who were relatively uncritical of the education system. It was found that while parents in the first category were either middle class or members of the so-called 'respectable working class' parents in the second category were more likely to belong to the semi-skilled or unskilled sections of the working class.

One of the major criticisms levelled against schools by parents in the first category, was that the schools were lacking in discipline and were allowing the academic standards to fall. Teachers, they felt, did not exercise adequate control over the pupils, and among the latter the ethic of hard work and mental discipline had been seriously eroded. An over-emphasis on the so-called 'child-centred' approach was, in part, held responsible for the situation. These parents expressed certain serious doubts about the comprehensive system of education. It was not as if they were opposed to the principle of a comprehensive education,

but rather they seemed to be wary of the seemingly large size of the pupil intake to these schools, and of the resultant impersonal atmosphere.

The above-mentioned comments were made both by the Asian and the English parents. However, the two sets of parents differed considerably in their analysis of the factors seen to be contributing to these perceived shortcomings of the educational system. In general, the Asian parents seemed to be of the view that the inadequacies were in part, associated with the economic system. The economy, they said, required an adequate supply of the labour force, and this supply was assured with the help of a dual education system in which the better off sections of the society were able to send their children to public schools where better academic standards were likely to be obtained, whereas their own children attended schools in working class areas, where, as one father put it: "kids are not being educated, they are being prepared to man the factories".

It is interesting to note that this radical-sounding analysis of the role of education in the reproduction of class inequality was offered by a category of parents, a majority of whom did not appear to have any strong political affiliations. As previously suggested, their insight might in part have resulted from the status inconsistency between their middle class position and the lower status accompanying their position as members of a 'coloured' ethnic minority in Britain so that these parents would have been enabled to appreciate societal processes from the vantage point simultaneously of a high and a low status position.

This category of Asian parents also made reference to colour prejudice in schools, racial bias in the curriculum, limited opportunities in the schools for pupils to learn Asian languages or about the Asian cultures, teacher expectations, and so on. They stressed that the schools

were in a unique position to foster mutual respect and understanding between people with different ethnic backgrounds, but were not always likely to respond to the challenge.

Compared with their Asian counterparts, the English parents who adopted a critical stance towards the education system did not attribute the perceived failings of the education system directly to the economic system. They were likely to express the view that the narrowing wage differentials between skilled and unskilled jobs served to reduce the incentive for pupils to work hard in order to acquire a vocational training. They were also inclined to blame the presence of 'immigrant pupils' in schools for the perceived deteriorating state of affairs; these pupils were perceived as lowering the academic standards in the school. However, the parents' view was challenged by the comments of several teachers who indicated that in the two ex-secondary modern schools at least, the number of pupils taking ordinary and advanced level examinations had increased somewhat during the period of ethnic minority settlement.

It will be remembered that the Asian and English parents who did not voice any strong criticism of the education system had a relatively lower level of formal education (some of the Asian mothers in this category were illiterate), and they were likely to be employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Their knowledge of the workings of the education system were minimal and they were strongly inclined to transfer authority almost completely to the school. They were also likely to exhibit a rather deferential attitude towards the educational establishment. Lacking some of the social skills possessed by their middle class counterparts, they were found to be rather unconfident in their dealings with the school system. As a result they tended to avoid attending meetings such as those organised by the Parent Teacher Association; this organisation was

felt to be dominated by parents 'in the know'.

The Asian parents in this category were additionally handicapped by not being able to communicate in English. Further, deference to the authority of the school, in their case, was related also to a feeling on their part that as immigrants they could not make strong demands on British society. They displayed a strong respect for and faith in the ability of the teachers 'to educate properly'; indeed teachers seemed to be regarded by them as surrogate parents during the period that their children were at school.

It will be evident from the foregoing that ethnic and social class background were both important in shaping the experiences, social perceptions and attitudes of the Asian parents. By virtue of their social class position the middle class Asian parents, for instance, were able to gain greater access to 'knowledge' about the educational system and other British institutions. Unlike their working class counterparts whose contact with and participation in the British social system was likely to be limited to the highly structured and formal context of work, the middle class parents were able to foray into the more esoteric spheres of British social life and learn about the British cultures from the inside as it were. It is perhaps in this way that they might have acquired a more acute awareness of the inconsistency and contradiction between their class and ethnic status; and perhaps it was due to such awareness that these parents were able to play a dual role - one in which they were able to serve their class interest, and in the other their ethnic interest. For example, it was found that several such parents had been able to manipulate the education system in favour of their own children, and in

this respect they acted no differently from middle class English parents - that is, collectively they were all acting, albeit not always know ingly, in respect of their class interest. At the same time the Asian parents were strongly critical of the way in which they thought the education system had failed to meet the needs of the ethnic minority pupil; in this respect they would seem to have adopted an advocacy role on behalf of their ethnic group.

On the other hand, the Asian parents with little formal education or knowledge about the education system, could not and did not play either of these roles very effectively. Having transferred authority to the school, these parents as well as their English counterparts from the semi-skilled and unskilled sections of the working class, were unable to act on behalf either of their ethnic group or social class.

There are some important implications in what has been said above for the home/school link. At a general level, the study provides support to the current thinking in some educational circles that there is a need for schools to develop a closer contact with the communities they serve. Frequency of contact between parents and the school is often very limited, and in most instances tends to occur when there is a grievance or a serious matter to discuss. The distance between home and school was found to be greater when the home background of the pupil was working class, and greatest when the family in question was working class and Asian. What would seem to be needed is some way of relating the life of the child at home and at school, and of keeping parents and teachers in touch with each other.

One way forward may be if greater effort is diverted into keeping

the parents informed about the school procedures, the educational philosophy of the schools which their children attend, as well as about the relevant national educational policies. In regard to the Asian parents, information disseminated in a written form could be translated in the major Asian languages represented in the schools. Apart from letters being sent directly to homes, information could also be circulated with the help of the various Asian community organisations, temples, churches, mosques, and so on. An over reliance on written modes of communication, however, is unlikely to prove very helpful with Asian parents. Personal contact would seem to be essential in promoting good relations between home and school.

In regard to the issue of personal contact, it is important that in arranging meetings, the working patterns of the parents are taken fully into account by the schools. That a sensitive attitude towards such matters can be exceedingly rewarding may be illustrated by citing what happened when one of the three schools in the study undertook some positive steps in this direction. Previously, this school would attempt to introduce itself to the parents of its first years' intake by inviting the parents to a meeting held at the beginning of the first term. This method had largely failed in that very few Asian parents attended this meeting. The school, therefore, decided to take cognizance of the fact that a majority of the Asian parents, especially the fathers, were engaged in shift work. They discontinued the practice of holding a single meeting which all parents were expected to attend, and instead sent out a letter inviting the parents to either phone the school or write/send a message with their child indicating a date and a time convenient to themselves when they could come to the school to meet

with a few of the teachers. The deputy headmaster of the school has recently told me that the response by the parents to this initiative has been extremely good. Whereas in the past very few Asian parents would attend the meeting organised by the school, a majority of them had now visited the school and met the teachers.

For their part, teachers may need to regard home visits as an integral part of their area of responsibility. There is a trend currently developing amongst the Local Authorities to appoint school-home liaison officers with the specific aim of improving contact with the community. While these appointments may be useful, they would seem to be an inadequate substitute for the type of knowledge which may be personally acquired by a teacher through home visits. Of course, every teacher cannot pay visits to the homes of all the pupils he/she teaches, but contact with the home may be feasible if the class teacher's role were to be extended beyond taking roll call to include elements of pastoral care for the pupils in that class.

In so far as Parent Teacher Associations are concerned, the study has shown that apart from the constraints imposed by shift work, language difficulties were a major obstacle to attendance at these meetings by Asian parents. Schools could attempt to overcome this problem by arranging to have the proceedings of the meeting simultaneously translated into the appropriate Asian language, and if necessary, parts of the meetings might be conducted in an Asian language. It will be remembered that the Asians constitute the majority in each of the three schools included in the study, and, therefore, the use of an Asian language in conducting parts of the

meeting would not be inappropriate. A second very important, although by no means novel, fact to emerge has been that working class parents from both ethnic groups were inclined to feel socially uncomfortable at these meetings. By implication they felt devalued by the more middle class ethos of these meetings. It would seem to be imperative, therefore, that the schools become aware of the subtle ways in which their respective ethos discriminates against the home background of certain sections of the school population or indeed sustains certain school goals. There would seem to be a need for the schools to adopt strategies which were neither condescending, nor patronising towards any section of the student population, but which would all be based on an underlying premise that the individual pupil as well as the group history which he/she brings into the classroom is to be utilised to foster a sense of worth in that pupil. It is a simple objective, but, as years of educational research have indicated, the most difficult to put into practice.

The results of this study would seem to indicate that, in an ethnically heterogenous society such as Britain the need to implement the above-mentioned objective becomes even more pressing. It is apparent that the Asian and White communities in Southall cannot be said to co-exist, but rather to lead a separate and parallel existence. The results of the questionnaire analysis showed that the lack of meaningful contact between the two communities may in part be related to the fact that they were both inclined to perceive themselves as being quite different from each other. Of course, in some respects, the two ethnic groups were, indeed, different, as for example, in terms of their respective self-image, their views on the issue of arranged marriage and so on, but on a number of issues their

attitudes were remarkably similar. Thus, it would seem as if the perceived difference was greater than actual difference. Why was this so? Perhaps because the existing social distance between them did not permit them to explore the extent of similarity in their respective world view. Rather the existing social distance was likely to have been further reinforced by this perception of social difference. The lack of contact between the Asians and the English could not, however, be explained primarily in terms of a higher level of perceived as compared with actual social difference. Instead the evidence presented in chapter 7 would seem to suggest that racial antipathy was perhaps the major factor contributing to the social distance between English and Asian communities in Southall.

The interesting point is that in the school context racial antipathy might often remain largely concealed or latent, and might not be easily identified by a casual observer to the schools. It might only occasionally surface such as in a situation of the type described by the following quote from the head of one of the schools:

> "Certainly, the one time when I have had any really strong prejudices expressed was when I arranged a Diwali service here and the White parents, quite a number of them, rang up bitterly criticising it. It's a great tragedy really. I felt the hostility in the hall. I think if you moved around this school you'd find very little violence or hostility. There's prejudice, but it's not expressed, we do live together here peaceably but that afternoon you could have cut the atmosphere with a knife. I was very angry and embarrassed at it really, but it's there under the surface."

In most instances, as reported to me by some of the pupils and ex-pupils of these schools as well as by some of the White teachers, racism is expressed in subtle rather than overt, in implicit rather than explicit, and in diffuse rather than in specific forms. That is, racism in schools would seem to be an example of what has come to be termed 'institutionalised racism'. As Brooks and Singh (n.d.) have suggested, the concept of

'institutionalised racism' is an important one in that it marks a shift away from the view of racism as essentially a psychological concept of individual prejudice, and emphasises instead that racism is located primarily at the level of the values of society rather than in the individual. Its significance, they contend, lies less in the individual acts of discrimination than in the cumulative disadvantage and deprivation suffered by the recipients. In a school, its influence may be felt as much through the official curriculum (e.g. in terms of racial bias in text books or in terms of what is excluded from the curriculum) as through the 'hidden curriculum'.

In chapter 7 it was suggested that contemporary racism in Britain may be seen to stem from two sources: the colonial encounter, on the one hand, and the material conditions (declining economy) of present day Britain on the other. On the basis of this line of argument, some might wish to conclude that since schools have little direct control on the changing circumstances of the economy, they can do little to reduce racial prejudice among its pupils. This, however, would be too pessimistic a view to take. The schools, I believe, have an important contribution to make though the task is neither straightforward, nor easy. It is essentially beyond the scope of this thesis to spell out specific recommendations. Moreover, a series of excellent recommendations have already been produced, as for instance by Community Relations Commission 1976 and 1977; Cross, 1978; Ealing Community Relations Council, 1973; Little, 1978; and by Milner, 1975. These have made a strong case that the school curriculum, and the initial as well as the in-service training of teachers should reflect the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic nature of contemporary Britain. The results of this study lend further support to the pressing need for these changes to be implemented. Further, in order to derive maximum benefit from these

proposed changes, a comprehensive educational policy rather than the ad hoc attempts made by individual teachers or schools (see chapter 3) would seem to be necessary.

Identity and Ethnic Identity

Since a considerable amount of the material discussed in this presentation is directly or indirectly linked with the issue of identity, it would seem important that before concluding the chapter the topic is given some consideration. It constitutes a vast subject, however, and its treatment here cannot hope to be anything but rather superficial, brief and tentative. Further, the gaps in my knowledge about the subject as it pertains to the English population in Southall are much wider than in relation to the Asians settled in the area. Consequently, my remarks are confined to the latter category alone, and even within this category, I am concerned primarily with the identity of Asian youth.

Identity

If one were to embark upon the task of identifying some of the most seminal and frequently used concepts to emerge during this century, the term 'identity' would be certain to appear on the list. Since, by its very nature, it defies a precise definition it has tended to be all things to all persons. Moreover it is as likely to be used by the social scientist as by the lay person.

Two of the most penetrating analyses of the concept would seem undoubtedly to have been provided by Erik H. Erikson, (1968) and Berger and Luckman. In an attempt to establish certain parameters within which the term may be apprehended, Erikson has employed the following phrases to convey its meaning: "a subjective sense of an invigorating sameness and continuity", "a unity of personal and cultural identity rooted in an

ancient people's fate", "a process 'located' in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture, a process which establishes, in fact, the identity of those two identities", "identity development has its time, or rather two kinds of time: a developmental stage in the life of the individual, and a period in history". He further adds that the process of identity formation is "for the most part unconscious except where inner conditions and outer circumstances combine to aggravate a painful, or elated "identity consciousness".

These themes are echoed in the formulations of Berger and Luckman. The basic premise underlying their thesis is that reality is socially constructed. They argue that during the course of everyday life a person is conscious of the world as consisting of multiple realities, but among them "there is one that presents itself as the reality par excellence. This is the reality of everyday life" (Berger and Luckman, 1967; 35). This reality of everyday life is shared with others through common sets of meanings; "... that we share a common sense about reality .... common sense knowledge is the knowledge I share with others in the normal, self-evident routines of everyday life" (Berger and Luckman, 1967; 37). Of course, the world is not experienced by everyone in exactly the same way; nor is it experienced by the same person in the same way all the time. But there is a common thread running through these realities, and this common thread is the reality of everyday life which lends consistency to one's behaviour.

Within this schema postulated by Berger and Luckman, identity becomes a key element of subjective reality. In theory, at least, there can be as many identities as there are subjective realities, but a person's core identity which provides him/her with an ongoing sense of self is formed from those realities which recur again and again.

Berger and Luckman assert that all subjective reality stands in a dialectical relationship with society:

> "Identity is formed by social processes. Once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations. The social processes involved in both the formation and the maintenance of identity are determined by the social structure. Conversely, the identities produced by the interplay of organism, individual consciousness and social structure react upon the given social structure, maintaining it, modifying it, or even reshaping it. Societies have histories in the course of which specific identities emerge; these histories are, however, made by men with specific identities" (Berger and Luckman, 1966: 194).

In a recent book entitled 'Ethos and Identity', A.L. Epstein refers to a further dimension of identity, namely that "every act of identification implies a 'we' as well as a 'they'" (Epstein, 1978:xii). He argues that group identity must be examined not merely in terms of the group's "external relations and interactions, but rather this view 'from without' must be supplemented by one 'form within'." These writers also observe that the process of identity formation involves both a cognitive and an affective dimension. For instance, in the words of Epstien:

> "Finally, it may be observed that because identity touches the core of the self, it is also likely to be bound by powerful affect; cognitive in one of its aspects, it is also fed by tap-roots from the unconscious. The more inclusive the identity, therefore, the deeper its unconscious roots and the more potentially profound the charge of affect". (Epstein, 1978; 101).

Thus, some of the strands which weave through the above interpretations would appear to be as follows:

(a) the term 'identity' denotes a subjective sense of coherence, consistency and continuity of self.

(b) identity is multi-faceted as well as context specific; a facet which is salient in one context may be latent in another.

(c) the process of identity formation is largely unconscious except where 'inner conditions and outer circumstances combine to aggravate

a painful, or elated "identity consciousness"; this process involves both a cognitive and an affective dimension.

(d) identity is rooted in one's personal history on the one hand, and one's group history on the other.

(e) all subjective reality, including a sense of identity, stands in a dialectical relationship with society.

It is evident from above that ethnic identity is a particular facet of an individual's or a group's global identity. Moreover, it is obvious that it is meaningful to talk about ethnic identity only where two or more ethnic groups have been brought into contact within a common social context. In other words, one acquires ethnic consciousness only when there is another ethnic group available with which to compare one's own. Further, it is apparent that such comparisons will generate ethnic boundaries which will serve to maintain social distance between the ethnic groups.

In a polyethnic situation such as that which prevails in Southall, it might be useful to distinguish between the type of boundary which operates within the sphere of black-white relations, and that which is likely to arise between the various Asian ethnic groups. In regard to the first type of boundary, the evidence presented here indicates that at one level of analysis this boundary would seem to be sustained primarily by the social structural factors which bring the ethnic groups into direct competition for jobs and for scarce resources such as housing, as well as by the cumulative effect of institutionalised racism. However, when the focus is shifted to the subjective perspectives of the Asian and English residents of Southall, it becomes apparent that the boundary is

conceptualized by them less, if at all, in relation to 'objective' socio-economic factors operating in society, but considerably more in terms of stereotyped perceptions of the 'other' ethnic group. Thus, although in terms of their socio-economic status both English and Asian respondents were primarily working class, there was little evidence to suggest that in their day-to-day life class solidarity was likely to take precedence over ethnic consciousness. In other words, the boundary would seem to be constituted around an experiencial panorama which arises out of a complex interaction between 'race' and social class as independent variables.

The boundaries between the various Asian ethnic groups, on the other hand, tend to be partly a function of the type of relationship which existed between them before migration, and partly of their shared experience in Britain as a 'coloured' minority. Thus, for example, the Punjabis and the Gujratis in East Africa were prone to hold certain stereotypes of one another. To some extent, these stereotypes have been carried over into the Southall context, but now that these East-African Asians are faced with Punjabis and Gujratis from the Indian sub-continent, their common East African experience becomes a more important constituent of their identity. Similarly, Punjabis from rural punjab will differentiate not only between themselves and Gujratis but also between themselves and the Punjabis from East Africa. Indeed, they tend to regard all East-African Asians as being 'conceited' and 'too westernized', while the East Africans in turn are likely to depict the Sub-continentals as an 'unsophisticated', 'conservative' group.

In other instances, traditional boundaries between Asians have been modified in the British context. This is particularly true of the caste-boundary. As already noted, restrictions on commensality

and physical touch between the higher and lower castes are rarely practiced in Southall, but the various castes continue to assert their distinctiveness through their respective caste-based organisations. Among the lower castes, three types of broad strategies designed to deal with their low caste-status would seem to be followed. The major thrust of the first strategy, which tends to be employed by the younger and relatively more militant sections of the population, appears to be that the ideology of caste is categorically rejected in favour of egalitarian principles. The adherents of this type of strategy, as for example the political group 'Dalit Panthers', try to mobilize support against caste injustice wherever it may appear. In rejecting caste they seek to redefine their identity in new and positive terms. Although this process is facilitated by the fact that the egalitarian principles they espouse are also the ones which form the basis of the social democracy in Britain, it cannot be assumed that this category of Asians are more likely to identify with British society. This is because the egalitarian ideology in Britain, as elsewhere, does not get fully translated into practice, such that the social reality and the life chances of a lower caste Asian in Britain are shaped not by his/her caste but by the present day nature of ethnic relations in this society. Thus, a member of an 'Untouchable' caste who consciously revolts against the caste ideology is equally likely to be involved in campaigning against racism.

The second type of strategy which nowadays seems to be adopted by a larger proportion of the lower castes does not involve a categorical rejection of the principle of caste; rather the caste as a whole attempts to improve its status. Status mobility may be in part effected through the acquisition of property both here and in the country of origin, but, perhaps a more important aspect of this strategy is that history is re-

interpreted in order to demonstrate that 'really' their caste had loftier origins than generally believed. Hence the caste members do not try to conceal their caste origins. A recent example of a caste adopting this position can be seen in the erection of a separate Sikh temple by the Chamar caste (one of the 'Untouchable' castes) which bears the name of Bhagat Ravidas who is believed to have been a Chamar and whose sermons form a part of the Sikh scriptures. By expressing its identity through Ravidas, the caste members would seem to be wishing to draw the attention of others to those aspects of their social history of which they can feel proud of. Again, as in the previous case, proscribed identity is challenged, but unlike in the previous case, it is reconstituted 'within' rather than 'outside' the caste-framework.

A third strategy sometimes used may be seen to constitute an attempt at passing as a member of a higher caste. Families which elect to utilize this line of action are likely to adopt a well-known 'gotra' (clan-name) from among those associated with a high caste. For instance, a number of such Sikh families have adopted the 'Jat' (a land-owning caste which is politically dominant in Punjab from where a majority of the Sikh families in Southall originate) gotras. Quite often their children will grow up without knowledge about their actual caste-origin and, in some cases, may be made painfully aware of it by some incident. In these situations a dimension of the young person's identity which had hitherto remained latent may become poignantly salient.

In addition to the above-mentioned boundaries, those of religion and nationality prior to migration will also be important in shaping the identity of the various categories of Asians vis a vis one another. In the main, these boundaries function as social indicators which enable the diverse categories of Asians to differentiate between themselves.

In the British context, these boundaries rarely serve to generate antipathy of the kind which may spill over into overt antagonistic behaviour towards members of the 'other' group, unless the issue in question is serious enough, as for example, the civil war in Pakistan which led to the creation of Bangladesh. During such periods a strongly felt, but contained tension will be evident among the respective communities. On other occasions, the social perceptions which these communities have of one another may be expressed through social bantering and joking relationships.

Certain types of identities which an Asian group might choose to adopt will serve to distinguish the group simultaneously from the White populations and the other Asian categories. The importance of these various levels of differentiation as utilized in the definition of self and group identity were brought home to me at a conference organised by the Sikh Students Federation (SSF) to which I was invited. The young Asians who elect to become members of the SSF (an organisation which is strongly fundamentalist in character) are expressing their Sikh identity vis a vis not only the English but also the Hindus, Muslims, as well as other Sikhs who are likely to be seen as having lapsed from the 'true' path of Sikhism. As an educated elite, these youth are also likely to be keenly aware of their class position which offers them an entre into areas of privilege from which other sections of Asian youth are excluded. They may, thus, appear to be simultaneously more 'integrated' and 'encapsulated'

In contrast, the Southall Youth Movement (SYM), another youth organisation with predominantly Sikh members, has chosen to adopt an identity which though ethnic in nature, places a greater emphasis upon the shared experience of youth as 'Asians' rather than specifically as Sikhs. In regard to their Sikh religious background, the young men are less likely to wear turbans or beards, the most conspicuous symbol of Sikhism for Sikh men, but this is not an indication of their reduced belief in their religion. A

majority of them are from families which have originated from the rural Punjab, where, as in most rural societies, belief in religion is a question of faith which is taken so much for granted that strict adherence to the rituals of religion barring the outer symbols such as the turban is not always practiced. These young people are rarely conversant with the details of Sikh social history, nor do they make it a point to study it in a systematic way (whereas members of the SSF do attempt to undertake such a study), but they assert that their faith is no less sincere than that of the members of the SSF, whom they may sometimes dismiss as a rather conservative force among Sikhs. In terms of social class background, members of the SYM, are likely to have fewer educational qualifications, and more likely to be employed in manual occupation. This movement also attracts a number of those young Asians who may be unemployed, homeless, or in trouble with the law. This latter category of youth usually operate within the framework of their own separate sub-cultural groupings but they often forge links with the SYM in the manner of satelites, functioning, in the main, on the periphery of SYM's area of influence but expressing solidarity with SYM on issues of common interest. Partly because the SYM attracts the type of Asian young person who is likely to have suffered most from the disadvantages commonly associated with inner city areas[1] and as a consequence is less likely to possess social skills required for formal negotiations with officialdom, and partly because his (for the membership is predominantly male) experiences have led him to develop a scepticism, very often justified, of bureaucratic structures as

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1. Even though Southall is part of Greater London, it has all the characteristics of the inner city (see chapter 3).

exemplified by the local authority as well as certain Asian organisations in the area, a SYM member is more likely to express his protests at these structures through the 'politics of the street'. Although SYM members operate from a keen sense of their 'Asianess', they may frequently link-up and co-operate with West Indian youth on areas of common concern.

Thus it can be seen that although membership of both the SSF and the SYM is predominantly Sikh (in the former case, exclusively so), and both sets of young people seek to utilize a sense of their ethnic identity to express group solidarity, both the content of their ethnicity as well as the modes of its expression are substantially different. Thus, it would seem that the processes which the broad concepts of 'ethnic identity' and 'ethnicity' imply are essentially multi-dimensional rather than unitary. The foregoing would also seem to demonstrate that 'Asian identity' is multi-faceted.

In conclusion, I should like to focus on a particular facet of this identity, namely the perceived ethnic identity of the Asian adolescents vis a vis the White group. In view of the recurring debates on immigration from the so-called 'New Commonwealth' this facet of identity acquires increasing significance. For purposes of clarity, ethnic identity is conceived as having two main components: a subconsciously internalised body of belief systems deriving from one or more relatively distinct cultures on the one hand and on the other, a consciously articulated stance based on expressed solidarity with one's own ethnic group.

In the realm of the first component, the respondents' attitudes to apparently culture-specific issues described in this presentation would seem to suggest that, while the influence of the value system of the parents'

generation remains significant, there is at the same time evidence of emerging individualism among Asian young people of the type generally associated with western industrial societies. Further, it was found that the social world of the Asian adolescent was not totally different from that of his/her English counterpart. There were points of convergence inasmuch as football, popular television programmes, modern fashion, popular music etc. featured in both, although the Asian adolescents were also interested in Asian popular music and Asian films. The particular English culture that these boys and girls are most frequently exposed to is that of the working class in the area. The influence is neither overwhelming nor evenly spread across all Asian teenagers, yet it cannot be regarded as being spurious. Superficially, the influence is reflected in their accents, but at another level it is apparent in their emerging attitudes towards extra-familial authority. A detailed discussion of this aspect, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is interesting to note that the middle class Asian teenagers seemed more aware of the differences in the class cultures of Britain and tended to see a continuity between their own middle class status and that of the British middle class. This highlights a point made earlier that the Asians are not a homogenous group in either the social class or cultural sense.

In view of the foregoing, it may be suggested that in so far as the first component of ethnic identity is concerned, the Asian teenagers growing up in Southall are neither encapsulated in the cultures of their countries of origin, nor are they in the process of becoming completely anglicised. Their identity, as encoded in their emerging belief systems, contains elements derived from the Asian as well as the English cultures, although the influence of the latter might be more strongly apparent at the level of ideology than practice. Thus, the Asian young person who is either

born here or has spent a considerable period of his/her life in Britain is not alien to 'the British way of life', for certain elements of this are now part of his or her own way of life.

In its popular usage in Britain, the term 'ethnic identity' is not often used in the sense noted above. More frequently, it tends to be defined as the consciously articulated reaction of a minority group to the majority. This political dimension of ethnic identity is of course extremely important, but if discussed without due reference to the dimension noted above may result in an over-emphasis on notions such as 'encapsulation' on the one hand and 'integration' or 'assimilation' on the other. When the adolescents in this study were asked direct questions about their perceived ethnic identity, answers such as the following were typical:

> "I think of myself as an Indian, but I don't like a lot of - Indian ways. When I have children, I'd give them freedom, but I would also tell them about their country because they can't really forget their country and become all English".

> "You leave your country at a young age, and you forget it. I can't picture myself there now. Southall is home. As I grew up I tended to get into the habit of the English people. I would say I am Indian, I am proud of my nationality. Why shouldn't I be? But we are different from our parents in the clothes we wear and how we go about our surrounding and we are not too religious. We don't mind mixing with other people".

> "I think of myself as an Indian. I would like Indians to change in their ideas about life, about being in a different country, but I would like them to be proud of being Indian. White people laugh at them, so some of them begin to wish they were white.

These replies reflect the essential dilemma of a young person growing up in a racially or ethnically divided society. On the one hand, they are not uncritical of certain features of their parents' culture. On the other, they seem to sense the danger of over-identification with the majority group which ranks their cultures in a position of subordination.

Almost all adolescents I spoke to made reference to colour prejudice in society. Many used terms such as 'being made to feel like dirt' to verbalise the feeling of devaluation they experience. A few also referred to the historical colonial connection between Britain and the Sub-continent in comments such as these: 'They went to India and took a lot of valuables, things away, so why can't we stay in this country?" As a reaction to this devaluation they expressed pride in their ethnicity: 'I am proud of being Indian - why shouldn't I be?'. It is worth pointing out, however, that they expressed identification with 'Indianness' or 'Pakistaniness' rather than with India or Pakistan.

They were almost unanimous in their view that Britain is home. They were strongly opposed to the notion of 'repatriation' and while there was little evidence of a consciously worked-out long-term strategy for action, almost all suggested that, should the issues of repatriation become reality, they would 'fight for their rights'. In contexts of perceived external threat, ethnic identity becomes the nucleus around which group solidarity may be expressed and the community mobilised into political protest. This indeed became apparent during the summer of 1976 when an Asian youth was killed in the area as well as in 1979 when a white teacher was fatally wounded in a demonstration against the National Front. On these occasions, latent discontent was manifested in spontaneous protest. As one young man informed me quite recently,

> "We have our differences. Sometimes we fight among ourselves, but many of us have grown up together. We have faced similar problems in schools and now outside. Against an outside attack, we are one".

The degree to which this verbalised but in the most part, latent militancy may find articulation in political protest will depend largely on the future developments in the overall political and economic scene in Britain. On a day-to-day basis, identity means a sense of belonging to the social

space that is Southall.

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APPENDIX IA

IN-SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE

The Pilot Study

SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE ADOLESCENT

School of Education
Bristol University

The purpose of this questionnaire is to discover how young people view certain people they come across both in and out of school.

Please note that this is NOT a test. There are no right or wrong answers. I am simply interested in your honest opinions. Your name is not required on this questionnaire - your responses will, therefore, be anonymous. All the information you give me will be treated as being strictly confidential. Please respond in accord with your own feelings rather than in a manner you feel to be more socially acceptable. I would like to know how you actually feel - not how you think you ought to feel. Do not be afraid to indicate negative feelings about any person if that is the way you honestly feel.

Work from the first to last page in order. When you have finished, go through each page again to make sure you have completed everything.

Please tick wherever apprcpriate.

Your age on 30 April, 1975: _____ (years)

Sex: Male _____ Female _____

Religion: Buddhist _____

Christian _____

Hindu _____

Jew _____

Muslim _____

Sikh _____

Other _____ (Please specify which)

None _____

Where were you born?

Africa _____

England _____

Eire (Republic of Ireland) _____

India _____

Northern Ireland _____

Pakistan _____

Scotland _____

Wales _____

West Indies _____

Other _____ (Please give the name of the country)

What language do you usually speak at home?

Bengali _____

Creole _____

English _____

Gaelic _____

Gujerat _____

Hindi _____

Punjabi _____

Urdu _____

Welsh _____

Other _____ (please specify which)

If you were born outside England:

(a) how many years have you lived in England _____ (years)

(b) the number of years you have been to English schools _____ (years)

Where were your parents born?

	Mother	Father
Africa	_____	_____
England	_____	_____
Eire (Republic of Ireland)	_____	_____
India	_____	_____
Northern Ireland	_____	_____
Pakistan	_____	_____
Scotland	_____	_____
Wales	_____	_____
West Indies	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____

If your parents have not always lived in London, did they come from a city/town/village? (Please circle the one that applies to you)

What is your father's occupation? _____

_____

If your father came from outside England, what was his occupation in the country of origin? _____

_____

	KIND						UNKIND
My mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
An ideal teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The kind of person I would like to marry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself as I would like to be	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My best friend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Men teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Head of our school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself as I am now	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Women teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	WOULD DO WHAT THEY LIKE					WOULD TAKE NOTICE OF WHAT THEIR PARENTS THINK	
My mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
An ideal teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The kind of person I would like to marry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself as I would like to be	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My best friend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Men teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Head of our school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself as I am now	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Women teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indian/Pakistani boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The remaining 26 constructs appeared in the order in which they are presented in Appendix IIA

APPENDIX IB

IN-SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE

The Main Study

The part concerned with biographical details was exactly the same as in Appendix IA but the 21 constructs appeared in the order in which they are presented in Appendix IIB.

APPENDIX IIA

CONSTRUCT KEY

Pilot Study

1.	Kind	Unkind
2.	Would do what they like	Would take notice of what their parents think
3.	Loyal	Disloyal
4.	Neglect their children	Take good care of their children
5.	Take others into consideration before making up own mind	Do not bother much about what other people think
6.	Dirty	Clean
7.	Are in favour of mixed marriages	Are against mixed marriages
8.	Interfere in their children's decisions	Let their children make their own decisions
9.	Try to understand other people's way of life	Do not try to understand other people's way of life
10.	Old-fashioned in outlook	Like the new ways
11.	Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals	Think wives should obey their husbands
12.	Strict	Lenient
13.	Have a great deal of freedom	Have very little freedom
14.	Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents	Would look after their parents when they get old
15.	Not so tied to their families	For them the family comes first
16.	Stick to their own kind	Mix with others
17.	Would not wish their parents to choose their partener	Would let their parents choose their husband/wife
18.	Get into trouble	Keeps out of trouble
19.	Get on well with their parents	Do not get on well with their parents
20.	Not religious	Religious

21.	Independent	Not independent
22.	Do not trust their children	Trust their children
23.	Respect other people's way of life	Tend to think their way of life is the best
24.	Are badly behaved	Well behaved
25.	Mind their own business	Interfere in others lives
26.	Would be unfaithful to their husband or wife	Would be faithful to their partener
27.	Fair	Unfair
28.	Insincere	Sincere

APPENDIX IIB

Construct Key

Main study

1.	Would take notice of what their parents think	Would not take much notice of what their parents think
2.	Dirty	Clean
3.	Try to understand other people's way of life	Do not try to understand other people's way of life
4.	Would not wish their parents to choose their husband/wife	Would let their parents choose their husband/wife
5.	Are well behaved	Are badly behaved
6.	Are against mixed marriages	Are in favour of mixed marriages
7.	Would let their children make their own decisions	Would interfere in their children's decisions
8.	Old-fashioned in outlook	Like the new ways
9.	Think wives and husbands should treat one another as equals	Think wives should obey their husbands
10.	Strict	Not strict
11.	Have a great deal of freedom	Have very little freedom
12.	Are unlikely to take care of their aged parents	Would look after their parents when they get old
13.	Religious	Not religious
14.	Stick to their own kind	Mix with others
15.	Get on well with their parents	Do not get on well with their parents
16.	Before doing anything, worry too much about what others may think	Do not worry too much about what other people may think
17.	Would take good care of their children	Would neglect their children
18.	Independent	Not independent
19.	Would be unfaithful to their husband/wife	Would be faithful to their husband/wife
20.	Fair	Unfair
21.	Do not trust their children	Trust their children

APPENDIX III

Instructions for the independent judges to categorise the constructs in such a way that those nearest in meaning are placed together.

1. In front of you is a pile of cards. Each card has a bi-polar statement written on it. Read each statement carefully. They are meant to assess how teenagers perceive their peers, parents, teachers and other adults in relation to self. They have been selected in the first instance to describe those relationships and issues which tend to preoccupy most teenagers. Since my sample consists of both English and Asian boys and girls, some of the statements have been selected in order to highlight ethnic differences.
2. As you read the first statement, try to develop a general category (i.e. a label) under which this statement could be placed. You should be able to classify all statements in about five general categories. Sort these statements into several piles according to the particular category, making a note of each of your categories. It is obvious that a certain degree of trial and error will be necessary.
3. Once you are satisfied that each pile can be approximately categorized, then examine all statements in each category and place those closest in meaning next to one another.
4. Having done that, you should be able to see if any two statements are saying the same thing. If such a situation obtains decide which statement should be discarded and which one kept in. As I would like to keep twenty statements in the final stage, you may only discard up to eight statements. However, if you feel none should be thrown away, please say so.

5. On a piece of paper write the statements from each pile under the heading you have chosen. Those statements that seem to be repeating the same thing should be bracketed together. Write a D against that which you think is redundant.

APPENDIX IV

Notes on verbal instructions for completing the questionnaire

1. (Read out loud the section on aims of research and the confidential nature of data gathered.)

2. Now, first of all, I would like to know a little bit about you e.g. your age and whether you are a boy or a girl. We will, therefore, turn to the first page, and I will go through the information requested there, to make sure that what I have asked is clear to you. (Go through each of the biographical questions. On place of birth, clarify that England excludes Ireland, Scotland and Wales. On father's occupation stress the following.)

   Please be as specific as you can about the kind of work he does. I realize that one does not always remember the precise nature of the work one's father does, but try to be as specific as you can.

   For example: if your father works in a factory, it is not sufficient to say 'works in a factory'. It would be much more helpful if you could say something like 'a knitter in a textile factory', 'a packer in a food processing plant', 'a foreman in a car assembling plant', a capstan operator setter, etc.

   If he should work in a shop, could you please state whether he owns the shop, manages it for someone else, is a shop assistant etc. Also, if possible, please say what kind of a shop it is. Therefore, something like, an owner of a grocery shop, or a shop assistant in an electrical goods shop, etc. would be appreciated.

   If he works in the Engineering industry, is he a car mechanic, an electrician, a civil engineer, etc.

   If he is a farmer, please state whether he owns the farm as well as runs it, manages a farm for someone else, is an agricultural worker, etc.

These are only a few examples. The important thing is that the answer you give is precise rather than general.

3. (On father's occupation in the country of origin, state this.) It is sometimes found that when people move to a new place, they can't always find the same jobs that they had before they moved. Please tell me what your father did before he moved.

4. Before going any further, I would now like you to complete these first 3 pages of the questionnaire. (Wait until everyone has finished)

5. (Go through the instructions for filling in the grid, giving further verbal explanations when necessary.) Now that you have all completed the first section, we will go on to the next. Here you are provided with a list of people; they appear on the left hand side of the pages that follow, with the characteristics on which they are to be rated at the top of each page.

To illustrate how the characteristics can be used to describe various people, suppose the people on the left hand side of the page were: a baby, school boys and girls, a 90 year old woman, and a person. Suppose that the characteristic on which they are to be related is 'young' and 'old'.

YOUNG						OLD
a baby	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
school boys and girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a 90 year old woman	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a person	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

On the young-old scale, let 1 stand for very young, 2 for moderately young, and 3 for slightly young. Let 4 stand for neither young nor old. Let 5 stand for slightly old, 6 moderately old and 7 very old. If you think that 'a baby' is very young compared with the other three kinds of

people, you will circle 1. Similarly you may feel that 'a 90 year old woman' is very old compared with the other three. In this case you will circle 7. With regard to school boys and girls, you may think that they are young but not as young as a baby, therefore you might circle 2. When it comes to 'a person' you may feel that a person can be of any age, and therefore cannot be described as young or old. You will then circle 4, indicating that the characteristics 'young-old' cannot be sensibly applied to 'a person'. You will find that if you respond quickly but carefully on your first impressions, you can make decisions quite easily. When you come to characteristics like 'take good care of their children' or 'trust their children' etc., you may wonder how you can apply it to yourself or other boys and girls your age as you do not yet have children of your own. However, I am interested in what you think you would do if you had children of your own. Similarly, in the case of characteristics like 'would look after their parents when they grow old', you should be able to apply this to young people as well as adults. With regard to adults, you can tell me how you think they would behave toward their parents.

In other words, remember that each person or persons on these pages is to be rated on each set of characteristics that appear at the top of each page. You should not need to, therefore, use category 4 very often. It is essential that you circle the appropriate number against each person or persons on every page. There should be only one circle against each of these persons.

7. (Stress) Please note that the pages are numbered 1-28. Make sure you go through each page. Remember that each person or persons on these pages is to be evaluated on each characteristic written at the top of each page. It is essential that you circle the appropriate number against each person-category. There should be only one circle against each of the person-categories.

8. When you have finished, go through pages 1-28, again, to make sure you have completed everything. If at any stage you have any questions, please raise your hand and I'll come and try to answer them.

APPENDIX V

Interview Schedules

The major aim of the interview was to encourage the adolescents and their parents to discuss themselves and their perceptions of school, education, marriage, and family; their understanding of the adolescent-parent relationship and of the changes within their own or their parents' life-time which have a bearing upon this relationship; their relationships with other people, especially with family and friends; and their views about life in Southall.

The questions were grouped by topic on both sides of 8" x 5" cards. Two sets of cards were prepared; one for use with the adolescents and the other with parents. While all topics would be covered in each interview, it would be in greater or lesser depth according to the circumstances of the respondent and of the interview itself. The sequence and the working of the questions was altered according to whatever seemed most appropriate and natural in each interview. However, questions concerning marriage and family were usually preceded by those related to school and education, and questions of a more personal nature were always preceded by the more general ones.

No direct questions were asked concerning 'ethnic relations'. However, whenever a respondent made a spontaneous remark about the 'other' ethnic group, he/she would be asked to elaborate upon it; then certain other related questions would also be asked.

Interviews with the Asian parents and the Asian adolescents attending the further education centre were conducted in their own languages, whereas those with the in-school sample were conducted in English. The suggested

questions are set out below. Wherever appropriate they were translated into the relevant Asian language.

A. Interview Schedule used with adolescents

I. School and Education

1. What do you like most/least about school?
2. Do you think that what you learn in school will help you in your life ahead?

   IF YES: In what ways?
3. Is there anything that you had expected to get out of school but haven't?
4. How do you feel about examinations? Some people think that examinations should be abolished. Would you agree or disagree with them?

   IF YES: Why? What would you use in their place?

   IF NOT: Why?
5. Do you like attending a mixed-sex school or would you have preferred to have gone to a single-sex school? (PROBE)
6. Do you think it is a good idea for schools to have uniforms? Do you like wearing school uniform? (PROBE)
7. Do you think there is adequate discipline in your school?

   IF NO: How would you try to improve it?
8. Sometimes boys and girls in schools bunk classes. Why do you think they do that? Have you yourself or any of your friends ever bunked classes?

   IF YES: What were your/their reasons for doing so?
9. How would you describe an ideal teacher? What type of a teacher do you like most/least?

10. In your view who should have the responsibility for teaching sex-education to young people: the parents or the school?
    At what age should sex-education begin?
11. If you could run this school as you wished, what type of changes would you bring about?
12. What type of work would you like to do when you grow up?

II Parents and Children

1. How do you think life has changed since your parents were teenagers?
   Which of these changes do you think have been for the better/worse.
2. What would you say are the major anxieties worries/problems which face teenagers/parents today?
   Do you think Asian and English teenagers/parents face similar worries?
   If not: What are the differences?
3. Do you think most parents understand/trust their teenage children; let them make their own decisions?
   Do your parents understand/trust you? allow you to make your own decisions?
4. Do most teenagers understand/trust their parents?
   Do you feel your parents understand/trust you?
5. What kind of things do you think most parents and teenagers today agree about/disagree about; you and your parents agree about/disagree about
6. How do you get on with your parents/brothers and sisters/other relevant members of the extended family/friends?
7. Do you find it quite easy/difficult to discuss things with your parents/brothers and sisters/other relevant members of the extended family/friends?

8. When you have a problem, who do you discuss it with?
(parents, friends, sibling, teachers, members of extended family etc.)

9. If your parents do not like something you have done, how do they express their disapproval? (Explain, scold, shout at you, forbid you to do it again etc.)

10. What kind of activities do you do with your family/friends?

III Marriage

1. (Asian respondents only) In your opinion is it a good idea or is it wrong for boys and girls to go out together before they are married?

2. Are you going out with anyone at the moment?

3. What type of a person would you like to marry?

4. Do you think it is a good idea if marriages are arranged by the parents or do you think it is better if a person chooses his/her own husband/wife?

5. Do you think your parents will choose a husband/wife for you or do you think you will marry someone of your own choice?

6. If you wanted to marry someone and your parents did not approve of him/her what would you do?

7. (Asian respondents only) What do you think about the dowry system?

8. How do you feel about marriages between:

English and Asians

Hindus and Sikhs)
Muslims and Hindus/Sikhs) (Asian respondents only
Persons of different castes)

9. Would you yourself marry someone who was from a different group from yourself?

(Using the same categories as in 8, probe where the boundary is drawn)

10. Do you think a mixed-marriage is like any other or does it face any difficulties?

    IF YES: what are these difficulties?

11. If a marriage runs into difficulties, is it better for the couple to seek a divorce, or do you think they should stay together for the sake of the children/family?

12. How do you think you might act in such a situation?

13. How should husband and wife treat each other?

    Who do you think should be responsible for doing the housework and looking after children?

    (Probe perceptions of male/female role)

IV <u>Extended/Nuclear Families and the Care of Elderly Parents</u>

1. Do you live with your parents and your brothers and sisters?

2. Do you have any other relations living with you or nearby?

3. Do you think it is a good idea or not for relations other than one's parents and brothers and sisters to live with one?

4. What in your view would be the advantages/disadvantages of living with your immediate family only/your immediate family plus other relations?

5. What would you say are the advantages/disadvantages of a married couple living with parents?

6. When you get married, do you think you will live with your parents/in-laws?

    IF YES: (Try to ascertain if the respondents expect any difficulties in such a domestic arrangement)

7. When parents grow old, who do you think should have the major responsibility for their care: the parents or the government?

8. When your parents grow old, would you prefer them to

(i) live with you

(ii) live near you

(iii) live in a home for the elderly.

V Southall

1. How long have you lived in Southall?

2. Do you like living here?

IF YES: What is it that you like about Southall?

IF NO: What is it that you do not like about Southall?

B. Interview Schedule Used With the Parents

I School and Education

1. Would you say that your children are receiving the type of education you want them to have?

   What aspects of the education system are you satisfied/disatisfied with?

   What type of changes, if any, would you like to see made?

2. Do you attend Parent-Teacher Association meetings?

   IF YES: Frequently or only sometimes? Do you find them useful?

   In what ways?

   IF NOT: Why not?

3. It is sometimes suggested that examinations should be abolished.

   Do you agree/disagree with this view?

   (PROBE why, also what other forms of assessment would they prefer)

4. What type of a school would you prefer your children to attend:

   Single-sex or mixed sex?

   What would you say are the comparative advantages/disadvantages of single-sex and mixed-sex education?

5. Do you think it is a good idea for schools to have uniform?

   IF YES: Why?

   IF NOT: Why not?

6. Do you think there is adequate discipline in the school _____ (name of the son/daughter) attends?

7. Sometimes pupils truant from schools. Why do you think they do that?

   In your view how should the school deal with the problem of truancy?

8. How would you describe an ideal teacher?

9. In your view who should have the responsibility for teaching sex-education to young people: the parents or the school?

   Are you able to discuss the subject with your children?

   At what age should sex-education begin?

10. What type of a career would you like _____ to pursue when he/she leaves school?

    Is that the type of job _____ also wants to have?

    Is there any type of work which you would not want _____ to do?

Sections II, III, IV and V covered the same areas as sections II-V (entitled: Parents and Children; Marriage; Extended/Nuclear Families and the Care of Elderly Parent; and Southall respectively) of the interview schedule used with the adolescents. Where appropriate the wording was changed. Questions which were not relevant to parents were omitted. Examples of question modifications follow:

Question 5 in section II would now read:

What kind of things do you and your teenage children agree about/disagree about?

Question 9 in section II would now read:

If you do not like something that _____ does, how do you communicate your disapproval to him/her?

Question 1 in section IV would now read:

Do you have your parents/in-laws/married sons or daughters/ any other relative living with you?

APPENDIX VI

SSRC

Social Science Research Council

RESEARCH UNIT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

Director: Professor Michael Banton, J.P., D.Sc.

8 PRIORY ROAD
BRISTOL
BS8 1SZ
Tel: Bristol (0272) 311296

Letter to the English Parents

Dear Mr. and Mrs.

As you may know, I have been permitted during the course of my research to meet and talk with children from several different schools and has been one of those children who has been most helpful.

I write now to say that I would very much appreciate your talking briefly with me. The research is designed to report viewpoints entirely anonymously and I will call on you to make an appointment so that I might briefly hear your opinions on my research. May I thank you for your help. It is much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Avtar K. Brah
Research Associate
University of Bristol

SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF ADOLESCENTS: PHASE II APPENDIX VII Personal Interview: Biographical details

NAME: ADDRESS:

	AGE	SEX	RELIGION	PLACE OF BIRTH	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN ENGLAND	OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION IN ENGLAND	URBAN / RURAL	LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME	AGE ON ARRIVAL	NO OF YEARS IN SCHOOL	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	NAME OF SCHOOL	MARRIED / DIVORCED / SINGLE	LIVING / DEAD
MOTHER															
FATHER															
SELF															
BROTHERS/ SISTERS															
RELATIVES															

APPENDIX VIII

Tables Accompanying Section 6.3 Of Chapter 6

Asian and English respondents' perception of entities on factors obtained from the data provided by the total sample:

6.3.1 Self-perception

6.3.1.1 Self-image on Factor I ('Familial Responsibility')

Table 37A

Median values of factor scores for ideal and current facets of the self-image on Factor I obtained from the whole population

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
Asian boys	0.946	0.619
Asian girls	0.907	0.712
All Asians	0.925	0.656
English boys	0.597	0.305
English girls	1.162	0.745
All English	0.860	0.555

* High factor scores on this factor are associated with greater orientation towards fulfilling of 'familial responsibility'

6.3.1.2 Self-image on Factor II ('Individualism and Independence')

Table 37B

Median values of factor scores for ideal and current facets of the self-image on Factor II obtained from the whole sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
Asian boys	0.168	-0.205
Asian girls	0.201	-0.183
All Asians	0.182	-0.205
English boys	0.630	0.459
English girls	0.965	0.597
All English	0.885	0.506

* High factor scores on this factor are associated with a greater degree of 'Individualism and independence'

6.3.1.3 Self-image on Factor III ('Cosmopolitanism')

Table 37C

Median values of factor scores for ideal and current facets of the self-image on Factor III obtained from the whole sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
Asian boys	-0.789	-0.693
Asian girls	-0.913	-0.8
All Asians	-0.871	-0.736
English boys	-0.122	0.108
English girls	-0.104	0.109
All English	-0.104	0.109

* High factor scores on this factor are associated with a lesser degree of 'Cosmopolitanism'

6.3.1.4 Self-image on Factor IV ('Social Conformism')

Table 37D

Median values of factor scores for ideal and current facets of the self-image on Factor IV obtained from the whole sample

	'Myself as I would like to be'	'Myself as I am now'
Asian boys	-0.239	
Asian girls	-0.043	
All Asians	-0.167	
English boys	0.413	
English girls	0.409	
All English	0.409	

* High factor scores on this factor are associated with a lower degree of social conformism

6.3.2 Comparison of Entities Obtaining the Highest and the Lowest Median Factor Scores

6.3.2.1 Entities Receiving the Highest and the Lowest Median Factor Scores on Factor I ('Familial Responsibility')

Table 38A

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor I ('Familial Responsibility') obtained from the shole sample

	Highest Scores		Lowest Scores	
	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
Asian Respondents	My mother	1.001	English boys	-1.123
	The kind of person I would like to marry	0.948	English men	-0.817
	Myself as I would like to be	0.925	English girls	-0.802
	My father	0.727	English women	-0.577
	Myself as I am now	0.656	Men teachers	-0.542
			English parents	-0.42

Table 38A cont'd

	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English Respondents	My mother	0.928	Indian/Pakistani boys	-1.124
	Myself as I would like to be	0.86	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.936
	The kind of person I would like to marry	0.799	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.493
	Myself as I am now	0.555	English boys	-0.295
	My father	0.529	Indian/Pakistani women	-0.278
			Indian/Pakistani girls	-0.218

6.3.2.2

Table 38B

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor II('Familial Responsibility') obtained from the whole sample

	Highest Scores		Lowest Scores	
	Entity	Scores	Entity	Scores
Asian Respondents	English girls	0.597	Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.396
	English women	0.55	My mother	-0.436
	English parents	0.515	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.543
	English men	0.443	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.840
	English boys	0.393	Indian/Pakistani girls	-0.92
			Indian/Pakistani women	-0.93
English Respondents	Ideal self	0.885	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.725
	The kind of person I would like to marry	0.82	Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.958
	My best friend	0.553	Indian/Pakistani parents	-1.201
	English girls	0.551	Indian/Pakistani girls	-1.238
	An ideal teacher	0.524	Indian/Pakistani women	-1.453

6.3.2.3

Table 38C

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor III ('Cosmopolitanism') obtained from the whole sample

	Highest Scores		Lowest Scores	
	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
Asian Respondents	Indian/Pakistani women	0.508	Myself as I would like to be	-0.871
	Indian/Pakistani parents	0.465	The kind of person I would like to marry	-0.79
	Indian/Pakistani men	0.382	Myself as I am now	-0.736
	My mother	0.102	An ideal teacher	-0.653
	My father	0.066	My best friend	-0.637
English Respondents	Indian/Pakistani parents	0.733	My ideal teacher	-0.241
	English parents	0.612	Head of our school	-0.11
	Indian/Pakistani men	0.589	Ideal self	-0.104
	Indian/Pakistani women	0.556	Women teachers	-0.013
	My mother	0.523	Present self	0.109

6.3.2.4

Table 38D

Entities receiving the highest and the lowest median factor scores on Factor IV ('Social Conformism') obtained from the whole sample

	Highest Scores		Lowest Scores	
	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
Asian Respondents	English boys	0.889	My mother	-0.835
	English girls	0.753	Head of our school	-0.833
	Indian/Pakistani boys	0.515	Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.805
	English men	0.288	My father	-0.788

Table 38D cont'd

	Entity	Score	Entity	Score
English Respondents	English women	0.227	Indian/Pakistani women	-0.623
	English parents	0.197	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.285
Asian Respondents	English boys	0.847	Head of our school	-0.864
	Current self-image	0.66	Indian/Pakistani Parents	-0.815
	The kind of person I would like to marry	0.516	Indian/Pakistani Women	-0.606
	English girls	0.485	Indian/Pakistani men	-0.514
	Ideal self-image	0.409	Indian/Pakistani girls	-0.398

6.3.3 Asian and English Respondents' Perceptions of 'Ethnic/Generational' Entities

6.3.3.1

Table 39

Asian respondents' perceptions of 'ethnic/generational' entities on Factor I, Factor II, Factor III and Factor IV obtained from the whole sample

	Factor I ('Familial Responsibility')	Factor II ('Individualism & Independence')	Factor III ('Cosmopolitanism')	Factor IV ('Social Conformism')
My mother	1.001	-0.436	0.102	-0.834
My father	0.787	-0.383	0.067	-0.788
Indian/Pakistani Parents	0.552	-0.837	0.465	-0.805
English Parents	-0.42	0.515	-0.149	0.197
English boys	-1.123	0.393	-0.191	0.889
English girls	-0.803	0.597	-0.479	0.753
English women	-0.577	0.55	-0.38	0.287
English men	-0.817	0.443	-0.13	0.227
Indian/Pakistani boys	-0.333	-0.396	-0.464	0.515
Indian/Pakistani girls	0.327	-0.92	-0.2	0.036
Indian/Pakistani women	0.391	-0.931	0.508	-0.623
Indian/Pakistani men	0.051	-0.543	0.382	-0.285

6.3.3.2

Table 40

English respondents' perceptions of 'ethnic/generational' entities on Factor I, Factor II, Factor III and Factor IV obtained from the whole sample

	Factor I ('Familial Responsibility')	Factor II ('Individualism & Independence')	Factor III ('Cosmopolitanism')	Factor IV ('Social Conformism')
My mother	0.928	0.497	0.523	0.253
My father	0.529	0.509	0.433	0.29
Indian/Pakistani parents	-0.493	-1.2	0.733	-0.815
English parents	0.309	0.439	0.612	-0.028
English boys	-0.296	0.515	0.372	0.847
English girls	0.265	0.55	0.113	0.485
English women	0.387	0.43	0.254	0.208
English men	-0.2	0.388	0.272	0.387
Indian/Pakistani boys	-1.124	-0.958	0.187	0.074
Indian/Pakistani girls	-0.127	-1.238	0.279	-0.094
Indian/Pakistani women	-0.278	-1.453	0.557	-0.606
Indian/Pakistani men	-0.936	-0.725	0.589	-0.514